

JPRS 79856

13 January 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1960

FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

11 January 1982

**EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

No. 1960

CONTENTS

ALBANIA

Publication of New Political, Social Studies Review (ZERI I POPULLIT, 30 Dec 81)	1
Briefs	
Military Strength	3

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

System of Management Checks, Doublechecks (Jan Roubal Interview; TRIBUNA, 11 Nov 81)	4
CPCZ Cultural Weekly Evaluates Solidarity (Viktor Borsky; TVORBA, 18 Nov 81)	9
Dolezal Comment on Prague Radio Attack Against Dissidents (Vaclav Dolezal; RUDE PRAVO, 9 Dec 81)	13
CSSR Writers' Union Sends Open Letter to Western Writers (TVORBA, 18 Nov 81)	15

HUNGARY

Writer Presents Study on Censorship, Forbidden Literature (Akos Szilagyi; MOZGO VILAG, Aug 81)	18
---	----

POLAND

Leaders of Youth Organizations Interviewed (STUDENT, 5-18 Nov 81)	39
Interview With Sawic, Tadeusz Sawic Interview	
Interview With Guzy, Jaroslaw Guzy Interview	

Creation of New Youth Federation Reported (Katarzyna Zaczkiewicz; SZTANDAR MLODYCH, 28 Oct 81)	53
YUGOSLAVIA	
Pristina Telecast on Textbooks Criticized (Ljiljana Bulatovic; POLITIKA EKSPRES, 6 Nov 81)	57
Question of One Versus Several LC Candidates Discussed (Milivoje Tomasevic; KOMUNIST, 13 Nov 81)	60
'Witch-Hunt' Cited in Press Reporting on Religion (Nenad Ivankovic; VJESNIK, 28 Nov 81)	63
Misuse of Earthquake Relief Funds Described (Petar Ignja; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 8 Nov 81)	66

PUBLICATION OF NEW POLITICAL, SOCIAL STUDIES REVIEW

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 30 Dec 81 p 3

[Excerpts] By decision of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party the publication of the bulletin STUDIME POLITIKO-SHOQERORE [Socio-Political Studies] by the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Studies has begun. According to this decision, this organ will contain "studies of a political, ideological, and socio-economic nature, written by research institutions, institutions of higher education, central organs of the mass organizations, party committees, etc, articles of criticism for domestic and foreign social sciences publications, and certain unpublished party documents" etc.

Many social studies, from headquarters and the grassroots, will be in the bulletin STUDIME POLITIKO-SHOQERORE. They will be studies which make a concrete contribution to the resolution of economic and social problems related to the tasks of the 7th five-year plan and the future development of the country, for the creation of deep convictions among the masses in regard to the possibility of fulfilling the tasks of the plan, for the mobilization and fullest use of the energies and creative capacities of the people, for the surmounting of the obstacles resulting from difficulties of growth and from the imperialist-revisionist blockade as well as from the world economic and financial crisis.

Studies of a political and socio-ideological nature connected with problems of the socialist superstructure will be represented extensively in the bulletin. The bulletin will include studies on various issues of international relations, the world communist and workers movement, the peoples liberation movement, and present-day world development, having as a basis the revolutionary foreign policy of our party, especially the profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international situation, which the 8th party congress made and the pertinent guidelines which it gave in the field of foreign policy.

In light of the fact that our party plays a vanguard militant role in the defense of Marxism-Leninism, a special place in the bulletin will be occupied by studies to expose the ideology, policies and practical activity of various currents of modern revisionism--Soviet, Yugoslav, Chinese and Eurocommunist. These studies are valuable for the revolutionary education of our communists and workers, so that they will assimilate, as thoroughly as possible, the revolutionary line of the party for the uninterrupted development of the socialist revolution and continually strengthen their confidence in the inevitable victory of socialism on the international level.

In the field of history, chiefly studies on the history of the Albanian Workers Party will be represented in the bulletin. The Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies, after preparing the second publication of the text of the history of the AWP, has intended, in the coming years, to undertake general studies on the historic experience of the party in regard to certain great issues of its revolutionary activity, such as the Marxist-Leninist (political, philosophical, economic, cultural and military) thought of the party, the strategy and tactics of the party in the various stages of the revolution, issues related to the construction and the inner life of the party, the struggle of the party against modern revisionism, etc. Other central institutions, in addition to the Institute, will prepare studies on this topic. Research work on various topics of party history will also begin in the district.

The bulletin will also include studies with the special aim of combatting and unmasking the slanders and distortions of Albanian historic and contemporary reality, which are executed systematically by so-called scientific institutions, historians and sociologists in the capitalist and revisionist countries.

Just like all social studies, the bulletin STUDIME POLITIKO-SHOQERORE, which is being initiated after the 8th party congress, must respond to these tasks by ensuring the high scientific level of the material published in it. All workers in the social sciences, in implementing the directives of this Congress, must act with systematic persistence to carry out a more profound scientific research work, to struggle for the elimination of all schematism and jargon which are often found in social studies, for the implementation of a more truly scientific, Marxist-Leninist methodology, and to perfect the organization of research work. But the execution of obligations in regard to the social sciences is not an issue solely for scientific workers and institutions. It is a matter for the party organs and organizations as the 8th plenum of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party stressed "they must understand and value the importance of scientific activity more than they have up to now." They must direct this activity closely so that it will be developed completely in accordance with the directives and guidelines of the party.

The bulletin STUDIME POLITIKO-SHOQERORE will be published twice a year. The Central Committee of the party has charged the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies with the task of publishing the bulletin but the institute can carry out the assigned duty only with close cooperation among all social science research and teaching institutions, all party committees, government organs and mass organizations.

CSO: 2100/35

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

MILITARY STRENGTH--The numerical strength of Albania's People's Liberation Army is as follows: Ground forces: 30,000 troops, divided into one armored brigade (T-34/85; T-54; T-59), 5 infantry brigades, 2 armored battalions, 3 artillery regiments, 2 antiaircraft regiments and 8 light coastal battalions: The navy: 3,000 men: 3 submarines of the Russian W-class; 3 patrol boats of the Russian Kronstadt class; 44 destroyers, 6 motor torpedo boats of the Chinese Shanghai II class: 17 mine sweepers (of Russian origin). The air force: 10,000 men, about 100 combat planes. Besides there are paramilitary groups with 13,000 men, the internal security force with 5,000 men and the border troops with about 8,000 men. [Excerpt] [The Hague LEGERKOERIER in Dutch Oct 81 pp 14-15] 8490

CSO: 3105/61

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SYSTEM OF MANAGEMENT CHECKS, DOUBLECHECKS

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 45, 11 Nov 81 p 12

[Interview with Eng Jan Roubal, deputy chairman of the CSSR People's Control Committee, by Jiri Janouskovec: "An Important Management Tool"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Just what is control? The reply to this question would be quite simple if we understood control as just inspecting the state of things. But because it deals with the behavior and actions of people under specific conditions, appraises the results of their work and the reasons why there are deviations from prescribed courses, it is not such a simple matter.

That is why we asked to interview a person with a wealth of experience in matters of control--the deputy chairman of the CSSR People's Control Committee, Eng Jan Roubal.

[Question] With the gradual implementation of the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy a whole series of regulations was issued which prescribe and define relations within organizations as well as between enterprises and subordinate bodies and also some others. Among the important documents is CSSR Government Resolution No 190 of July of this year--Measures to Improve the System of Control in the National Economy and State Administration.

What is the significance of control under present conditions and in the present stage of implementing the Set of Measures?

[Answer] No system of management can rely on the automatic operation of its tools, on some kind of self-control. And it is no different at the present time when the Set of Measures is being implemented. It is the people who put it into operation. The effectiveness of improving the management system depends on their procedures and actions. And that leaves a lot of room for the influence of control.

Control cannot operate in isolation from the management system of society. It is an integral part of it. It pursues the same goals, it advocates efficient operation of management tools and it ascertains and signals the presence of deviations. But that would not be enough. Control must try to bring about correction! And that is one of its most important roles at the present time.

[Question] What is the current structure of control bodies and what do you think are the main problems of their work?

[Answer] We cannot say that we are suffering from a shortage of control bodies. There are many of them operating in the national economy. Basically, they may be grouped into two large groups according to their relationship to direct management. First of all, there are the so-called external control bodies which check on organizations without regard to their departmental affiliation. These include, for example, the people's control committees, state inspectorates, state testing facilities and also inspections conducted by state bodies, particularly in the areas of finance, planning, prices and wages.

The other large group consists of so-called internal control which is conducted along managerial lines. These include control units of ministries, general management bodies, enterprises and organizations. However, special units are also supposed to exercise control within the area of their jurisdiction and on individual levels of management in the area of their jurisdiction.

The most important kind of internal control, however, is that carried out by supervisory personnel as part of their managerial work. It may be designated as the most effective because it can be conducted regularly, every day, and any areas containing fundamental problems of organization can be selected and appropriate decisions made for rapid corrective measures. No agency can take the place of that kind of control.

If we exclude the workers in technical control, there are about 19,000 inspectors and checkers working in the whole republic. That number of people should be sufficient. Unfortunately, that is far from the case. Many control bodies are small operations involved in the solution of important problems of the national economy. Often they only ascertain various deficiencies but take little initiative to try to eliminate the causes. Nor do their efforts to tighten discipline always have the desired emphasis or results. Technical control suffers most from this problem and so do many aspects of internal control in general.

[Question] The CPCZ Central Committee and the government of the CSSR discussed the Measures to Improve the System of Control. From this it is apparent that raising the efficiency of the control system is of great importance. Why are they proceeding with changes in the control system already implemented, when will the changes be put into effect and what do they consist of?

[Answer] First to the changes. There are a number of reasons why they are necessary. Many control bodies have not yet formed adequate barriers to undesirable or even antisocial activity. They put little emphasis on eliminating defects and firming up discipline and responsibility. They only uncovered the deficiencies but made little effort to eliminate them. In other words, control did not, with some exceptions, become a real management component. These

practices of many control bodies did not meet the needs of the management system before 1981, much less are they adequate to the needs stemming from the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy.

The measures adopted are aimed at assuring high effectiveness of control, directing it toward the main tasks of development of the national economy and the inspection activities themselves and at the same time making sure they are impartial. Control is supposed to strengthen the efficacy of state administration of the national economy, be an inseparable part of it, one of its tools--all this not only on the central level but at all levels of management. The interests and needs of society must be pursued everywhere.

Prevention is more clearly emphasized in the measures adopted. This means coming up with control findings at the time that important problems are being discussed and decided on by the government, the ministries, general management bodies, enterprises and national committees. After all, this is logical--it is much better to anticipate problems than to have to solve or correct them later, often with unfavorable consequences.

And the time of implementation? The governments--federal and national--have prescribed that all measures are to be instituted without delay so that no later than the beginning of next year they will be reflected in distinctly improved effectiveness of the work of every control body.

[Question] In the course of preparing the data for the CSSR government resolution, surely they also evaluated past experience in control work. Could you tell us what has impaired the effectiveness of control up to now and perhaps still does?

[Answer] There are several causes. Basically, there is no doubt that many control bodies concentrated on partial and secondary problems. That kind of orientation represents very little help to management bodies and supervisory personnel. Many control bodies assigned low standards for their operations. Instead of directing their work toward the elimination of deficiencies, making permanent remedies and assuring positive developments, they were content with measures which could not bring about changes or reverse unfavorable developments.

It was forgotten that the control of any kind of material problem cannot cease with the adoption of measures but must follow through with consistent application. And in the case of internal and technical controls, supervisors did not always make conditions conducive to impartiality in their work.

All of these problems are clearly resolved in the measures adopted.

[Question] Control is an essential part of the work of all supervisory personnel. Nevertheless, it is not always appreciated. Why?

[Answer] Yes, that is true. But the reason will not be found in control itself. The remedy is not in ordering management personnel to do control work. Let us rather seek the answer in the area of evaluating the work of supervisory and all other management workers. As long as superior bodies judge their work on the basis of how many different directives, instructions or orders they issued and how many meetings they held, then they will consider these formal actions as fulfillment of their responsibilities rather than looking to actual results.

Nor can we expect that in the future all management workers will consider control as an essential part of their work.

In fact, the management worker must be judged, as emphasized at the 16th CPCZ Congress, according to the results achieved in the sector he manages. If this principle is consistently applied, then everyone will realize the need for controls and will organize them himself.

[Question] Deficiencies exist not only in the control operations of lower levels of management but also in VHJs [economic production units] and ministries. What must be done to improve the quality of control on this level?

[Answer] Briefly put, in their orientation, in providing for their objectivity and in close association with management operations. Control units in these management elements up to now have been oriented toward periodic reviews of management which of course revealed various disorders, but the status of management definitely did not improve. There was little room left for checking into key problems or for tasks which are essential to the successful fulfillment of the function of the department or sector for the whole national economy. Today, on the basis of the measures, the conditions are better for directing the work of control units.

All production ministries, certain others, and all central bodies are establishing the position of chief controller whose job will be to set up and coordinate the work of the entire internal control system. Among his important duties is attendance at meetings of management boards where he will submit information and experiences of control on matters under discussion. The objectivity of his work and the operations of the unit he manages will be enhanced by the fact that he will be appointed to his job and recalled from it by the minister in the case of chief controller of an enterprise, otherwise by the VHJ manager.

[Question] The principles of socialist society make it possible and, in fact, require, the participation of workers in management, thus also in control. How will the control system make this participation possible?

[Answer] Everything that was created here resulted from the work of the people. So one can understand that state and economic bodies rely on the initiative of the workers, that they make use of their motivation and suggestions. Therefore, all control bodies, not only people's control committees, which have regular contact with workers must develop cooperation with leading workers, agriculturists, with brigades of socialist labor, with innovators, design engineers and technologists, with workers of research and scientific centers, in accordance with the matter at hand and the problem under examination. A broad base for developing people's participation in control work can also be found by increasing the cooperation of control bodies with social organizations, especially the ROD [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement], the SSM [Union of Socialist Youth] and the Union of Women. It has proven productive to discuss control decisions and measures adopted with managerial workers at political-union aktivs directly in enterprises and plants. They are important because, with the participation of control bodies, the workers are also informed about how certain abuses will be eliminated which they often themselves pointed out at production conferences, and also they themselves can look for ways to contribute toward carrying out the measures adopted.

[Question] Worker participation in control also calls for social control. Where is the place for it?

[Answer] Yes, this involves control carried out by the workers, by the citizens in general and also that carried out by social organizations affiliated in the National Front, citizens' committees, the commissions of national committees and others. In the system of control there are, besides the people's control committees of town and local national committees also plant commissions of people's control. They operate without professional personnel, relying only on the work of their members and other volunteer workers.

[Question] To raise the effectiveness of control in the national economy and state administration it is essential to assure increased responsibility by workers of control bodies themselves. Where does this responsibility lie?

[Answer] Control can claim credit for an active part in the results which society has achieved in the past. All control bodies and all workers, however, must also be aware of their joint responsibility in those cases where prescribed objectives have not been met.

At the present time, the whole system of control stands before the task which may be expressed by these words: We must carry out the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress. We face a challenging period in our development. If control is to fulfill its social mission at this stage it must make a basic change in the quality and effectiveness of its own work. With full commitment, it must work to resolve problems and overcome difficulties. It must give management bodies and organization heads more help in their work.

That is a great responsibility, not only for officials and management personnel of all control bodies, but for every controller personally.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

8491

CSO: 2400/88

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ CULTURAL WEEKLY EVALUATES SOLIDARITY

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 46, 18 Nov 81 p 11

[Article by Viktor Borsky: "The Face of Polish Counterrevolution"]

[Text] The recent meeting of Solidarity officials in Gdansk confirmed even in its official program that this union, until recently pretending to be a "trade" representation has, without doubt, adopted a platform of a "social," i.e., political organization. Insofar as the program adopted at this meeting still contains mention of trade union activity, this constitutes merely a supplement intended to serve as a facade for those segments of worker membership which have not yet seen through the aims of the leadership.

Demands and Ultimatums

The programmatic declaration adopted by Solidarity in early October, contains a list of demands of a clearly counterrevolutionary orientation. This program in its substance was again ratified at the session of the all-Polish Solidarity leadership in Gdansk, held on 3-4 November. Solidarity demands:

--Reform of the Polish state on the basis of allowing a so-called free play of political forces, with the elimination of the leading role of the communist party under the thesis that "the state cannot identify itself with any one political party." Along these lines, it demands the holding of so-called free elections based on the rejection of the existing election law and the whole system of the National Front. The "free" nature of these elections will lie in that Solidarity will direct the preelection campaign and manipulate it through a new election law which it wants to "present" to Polish society in early December. Given the well-known semifascist methods of the Solidarity agitation teams in enforcing the interests of this union's leadership, there is little doubt how "free" such elections would really be;

--Revision of Polish international political and economic obligations under the guise of "reliable guarantees within the framework of international alliances" and the need for "restricting military expenditures to the minimum," which in fact means severing Poland's ties with the socialist community in the military, as well as economic sphere. Solidarity thus fully obliges the Reagan administration in its effort to disrupt the balance of forces in the world;

--Separation of "political and economic powers," i.e., abolishing the leading role of the communist party in economic management and cadre policy. In this connection, Solidarity rejects the government program of economic stabilization, and its leadership meeting of 4 November confirmed that it will call for a so-called referendum on the question of self-management in enterprises. This demand, in fact, represents an attempt to liquidate the socialist production system in Poland in favor of retail production and the private sector;

--Full control of information media by Solidarity and the abolition of "state monopoly" in this sphere. Simultaneously, it proclaims that it is entitled (by whom?) to establish its own information media, including radio and television stations. These stations are to be furnished by the intermediary of the yellow trade union center, AFL-CIO, and paid for by CIA funds.

In its program, Solidarity also demanded immunity for perpetrators of counter-revolutionary activity and overall restrictions on the security organs (this while criminal activity is constantly on the rise in Poland). In reading this "program," a justifiable question arises, namely, who are its real authors and whom is it to serve? The Polish working class and other working people? Not likely.

Godfathers in the "Committee for Workers Defense"

In order to reply to the above question, we have to go back a few years to the early 1970s. It was then that the foundation of a new strategy began to appear, a strategy which was to reduce selected socialist countries into a state in which they could easily be "impregnated" by counterrevolution, as stated, for example, by the American authors T.W. Stanley and D.M. Witt in their book Diplomacy of Detente (Entspannungsdiplomatie, Baden Baden 1971, page 117). This was to be imperialism's reply to the principles of peaceful coexistence which was being determinedly introduced into international practice by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. A part of this new strategy was the establishment of the so-called "parallel structures" to serve as a "fifth column of anticomunism in the socialist countries." Based on materials published in the West, we see that in the 1970s and early 1980s, Poland was to become the guinea pig for this strategy. Stated in simple terms, the reasons for this choice can be found in the economic and sociopolitical situation in Poland as it existed in the middle 1970s.

Anticommunist centrals observed very carefully the rising indebtedness of Poland in the West, the increasing linkage between the Polish economy and Western concerns, which made it dependent on imports of Western raw materials, spare parts, etc. Simultaneously, the situation in Polish agriculture (in 1979, more than 70 percent of the land was in the hands of private farmers), due to several bad harvests and faulty organizational work in agricultural production emanating from the lack of collectivization, was the reason that since the mid-1970s Poland became dependent on large quantities of grain deliveries from the hard-currency states, which made it even more vulnerable to political and economic pressures.

The party's serious mistakes in ideological and organizational work which led to its estrangement from the working people--along with the existence of a virtually independent Catholic Church which has been acting as an ideological second force in the state ever since the mid-1950s, led to a disruption of

internal unity in the Polish nation. This too was well known to the anticomunist centrals. The awareness of these two factors was the reason why, since the mid-1970s, these centrals concentrated on Poland in a systematic manner.

Having learned from their defeats in Poland and Czechoslovakia in the 1960s, the anticomunist centrals came to the conclusion that antisocialist forces in the countries of the socialist community, which draw together merely a segment of the intelligentsia, do not have a sufficient base of sympathizers which would enable them to exert effective pressure and achieve their aims. For this reason, it was decided that the "parallel structures" should strive to gain influence at least on a part of the working class and religious believers.

A specific problem in Poland was to find a suitable slogan and program which would bring together not only the revisionist renegades formerly active within the PZPR who were infected by thoughts of "democratic socialism" and Trotskyism, but also part of the Catholic intellectuals closely cooperating with the episcopate, plus a small group of the traditionally antisocialist and anti-soviet intelligentsia uncompromisingly oriented toward the restoration of a bourgeois republic in Poland. The needed slogan was found in the form of "defense of human and civil rights," based on a warped interpretation of the Helsinki Final Act. This enabled them to unite all antisocialist elements in a struggle against the communist party, against socialism in Poland. Each little group of the antisocialist forces was able to formulate its own long-term program, outline its own objectives which were to be realized only after the liquidation of the leading role of the PZPR and the destruction of socialism in Poland. The program of the counterrevolutionary forces was elaborated with direct participation of the ideological diversionist center of the Polish emigration in Paris, which is directed by the CIA. This center which publishes, among other things, the magazine KULTURA, made no secret of its ideological and practical participation in the preparation of this program. As early as 1975, this magazine published an article written by a certain Marian Kowalski in which the author states that "the most important, yet most overlooked, task of the emigration is the drafting of alternate political programs for the Poles," and that "in the formulation of programs intended for Poles at home and abroad, no one can replace the importance and influence of the emigres." A year later, 1 month before the establishment in Poland of the illegal counterrevolutionary organization KOR (Committee for Workers Defense), the same Paris magazine published a programmatic proclamation attributed to a fictitious organization called the Union of Polish Independence, containing clearly outlined aims and 26 specific demands. The KOR program cited in many articles subsequently published by its founders Michnik, Kuron, and Drawicz, is nothing but a paraphrase and adaptation to individual stages of the counterrevolution of the basic program "document" of the diversionary Kultura center. The "minimal" program of the counterrevolution was the establishment of the "parallel structures" independent of state control and a gradual "installation of pluralism without authorization." The maximum program (the so-called social outlook, as it was labeled by Michnik) was the step-by-step transformation--based on gradual institutionalization of the "parallel structures," of Poland into a parliamentary democracy of the "Finnish type," only loosely linked with the socialist community under the so-called recognition of Polish national priorities in the area of domestic and, to a great extent, foreign policy. This meant virtual implementation of what is contained 5 years later in the program of the union Solidarity.

Unity of the Counterrevolutionary Forces

All detachments of anticomunism have truly united toward the implementation of counterrevolutionary objectives in Poland, from the centrals of ideological diversion, emigres, renegades striving for the "third way" between capitalism and socialism, all the way to the Fourth Trotskyist International, and militant catholicism. They were joined in one goal, namely, the overthrow of socialism in Poland. Slogans of "independent unions," and "abolition of party monopoly," can be found in articles by Kuron and Michnik published in the emigre KULTURA, as well as on the pages of the Trotskyist magazine HORNET which, before its "return" to Poland, was edited by Edmund Balaka, but also in "pastoral letters" and resolutions of the Polish episcopate's conference as early as in 1976. The implementation of these aims has now been taken over by Solidarity, including the above-mentioned slogan of "parliamentary democracy."

In addition to the above-cited program, the second session of the Solidarity get-together, announced the termination of the activity of the so-called Committee for Workers Defense, KOR. Professor Lipinski who made the announcement in the name of KOR, stated that "Solidarity is KOR's heir." He thus expressed not only the direct link in the continuity of objectives of the two organizations, but also the fact that virtually all the objectives of the counter-revolution's minimum program, have been achieved in present-day Poland.

The Solidarity leadership has today fully adopted as its own the counterrevolutionary program of the antisocialist forces and its implementation. This program is not a program of the Polish workers, but a program of the foreign anticomunist centers and their lackeys among renegade intellectuals in Poland.

The programmatic "unity" on which all antisocialist groups agreed, also shows that the road from revisionism, reformism, socialism with a human face, to blatant anticomunism, is a short one. The initial minor "opinion concessions" soon turn into a fall into the ranks of enemies and open treason. This is demonstrated by the thinking processes of renegades like Kuron and Modzelewski, onetime proponents of "democratic socialism" in Poland but, in the end, by our own experiences with renegades of the type of Pelikan, Mlynar, and others.

9496

CSO: 2400/92

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DOLEZAL COMMENT ON PRAGUE RADIO ATTACK AGAINST DISSIDENTS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Dec 81 p 2

[Article by Vaclav Dolezal: "Second 'Talks from the Other Side'--What Wouldn't He Do for Dollars"]

[Text] The second airing of "Talks from the Other Side" which was prepared by Czechoslovak Broadcasting (it was broadcast yesterday by the Hvezda station and will be repeated today, Wednesday, by the Prague station at 1745 hours) also included a number of authentic statements. Statements that were not intended for public presentation, statements voiced by leaders of emigre groups, so to say, confidentially among themselves.

Tigrid, who has been working for the American CIA espionage service ever since World War II, admits in one of his talks with Pelikan what generous presents he has just brought back with him from the United States. He was invited to make his transoceanic trip by his control organs hiding under the company label of International Advisory Council (IAC) led by American George Minden. The latter assigns him specific tasks. After his return, Tigris cynically boasted of having once again managed to "panhandle some goodies in New York," that he "really put the screws to Minden who has quite a bit of money" from which "a bit is dished out in all directions," to include the "mutual enterprise" run by Tigrid and Pelikan.

For this revelation of mutual contacts, as stated by the broadcast commentator, Mr Minden of IAC will probably have little praise for his agent.

However, Minden is not the only source of financial means for anti-Czechoslovak espionage and other anti-Czechoslovak activities. The CIA also uses other "middlemen" posing under entirely innocent cover names. These include, e.g., the Ford Foundation or Volkswagen Foundation, or various councils, associations and internationally awarded prizes. Through these front companies, the CIA finances the activities of Pelikan's emigre group and its venomous publications as well as Tigrid's group headquartered in Paris and its publications. The means of these emigre groups are then used to finance people who live in Czechoslovakia and who for one reason or another let themselves become recruited for cooperation with enemy centers.

The documents heard by listeners of "Talks from the Other Side" confirm that these traitorous activities are motivated primarily by greed. On Tigrid's authorization, a certain Corry visited two persons living in Czechoslovakia who openly let him know that "if he had brought money, that would have been something else again." "What a creep," Tigrid's wife, unburdening herself when referring to one of Tigrid's "collaborators" in Prague.

At any rate, money was carried to various addresses by that couple of French tourists whose automobile was intercepted on the Czechoslovak border this spring. That put into the hands of our authorities complete lists of these and similar people, to include conclusive materiel evidence of their hostile activities.

Emigre leaders right away locked for a scapegoat on whom to pin that debacle. They found a sacrificial lamb in emigre Kavan and decided to break up with him. As Tigrid said himself: "I'll kick him out, I'll fix his wagon. You know me, ...that's my specialty...."

As listeners of the second airing of "Talks from the Other Shore" found out, the latest "specialty" of Mr Tigrid is now--the working class. He was directed by his overseas providers to assess "Polish experiences" with the so-called Solidarity and their "applicability" to influencing the working class in Czechoslovakia. Tigrid, as a post-February refugee, has never forgotten the action of Czechoslovak workers against reactionary elements in February of 1948, has never had any compassion for the Czechoslovak working class. He also did not hide his disdain when he talked about it with Pelikan: "Well, otherwise I toil with that shitty working class. Well, I'm writing a book."

Let the readers forgive us for having taken the liberty of citing Tigrid's defamatory, insulting statement in all its authenticity. It is characterized by a typical vicious class hatred. Yet, Tigrid is writing a book about the working class he so detests. What would he not do for dollars.

8204

CSO: 2400/89

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR WRITERS' UNION SENDS OPEN LETTER TO WESTERN WRITERS

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 46, 18 Nov 81 p 1

[Text] Esteemed colleagues, the century whose end is approaching, is the most eventful period in the history of mankind. In the short span of a few decades, it has brought us discoveries and created values of which entire generations of our descendants will be proud as they enjoy their benefits. It brought freedom to many nations, raised in broad measure the dignity of man, and brought mankind the prospect of a previously unheard of happy life. Unfortunately, it also brought two world wars of which the second was even more terrible than the first, and spattered the planet with numerous conflagrations of military conflicts, violence, terror, and economic and social oppression. The dignity of people, their right to a happy and full life, often the right to life itself, have often been and still are threatened, sometimes denied them altogether. We recognize that the most horrible danger, incomparable with anything in the past, aimed against man is the threat of a new, nuclear this time, war. We recognize that while wars of the past could at times remain localized in certain parts of the world, a nuclear war would have an entirely different character, would inevitably enshroud the whole world, destroy all that nature and human toil had created over millenia, and threaten the very existence of mankind.

This fact is being increasingly more clearly understood by people of all continents as they ponder their and their children's future and the fate of their world. Especially among people of all European nations there is a growing and justified wave of revulsion and resistance against the threat of a war such as the history of mankind has never experienced, resistance against those who are feverishly preparing for it.

Not a single day goes by without the ruling circles of the United States of America providing growing evidence through their proclamations, as well as political, economic, and military measures, of their determination to manufacture and amass not only on their territory, but also in your countries and in areas thousands of miles removed from the United States, new, even more lethal, weapons of an aggressive character.

For us, Europeans, it is disturbing when American government spokesmen try to reassure and deceive the world by their assertion that a nuclear war could be limited in scope and, in a criminal and unrealistic manner, calculate that

a nuclear conflict could be waged in Europe alone, thus sparing the very circles which would lead mankind into a nuclear disaster. We Europeans are angry and indignant to see these circles' willingness to sacrifice to their inhumane interests and intentions the values of old, cultured Europe and all that has been created in the course of history, including the lives of her inhabitants.

The mission of a writer, the mission of culture in our history has always been synonymous with humanism. We are and always wish to remain guardians of the heritage of Romain Rolland, Thomas Mann, Maxim Gorki, Martin Andersen-Nexo, and other great figures of world humanism. We march in the same ranks with millions of people who wish to preserve peace for themselves and their children and who opt in this fateful period for the alternative of life and prosperity against the alternative of nuclear death.

We still have enough work ahead of us on this planet in order to fulfill the vision of a happy life for all mankind.

While the classical sources of energy on our planet are inexorably nearing exhaustion, nuclear energy which could within a brief timespan become a giver of life and resolve this problem of mankind, is to be transformed into an instrument of destruction.

In our century, in an era of incredible scientific and technological progress, no man endowed with human conscience can forget that half of humanity is starving, that millions of mothers lack even a drop of milk for their children, that millions of people desperately need a piece of bread. It is the shame of the world that millions of people, deprived of all hope, are unable to apply their energy and working skills to the benefit of the human community, that there are millions of illiterates, and millions lack basic health care. At the same time, rich natural resources lie idle instead of feeding the hungry and providing a meaningful future for millions of hopeless, unfulfilled human lives.

We cannot ignore the fact that technological progress creates a situation where clean water and air will become increasingly rare, where emissions and toxic waste accumulate and ecological problems have grown to enormous proportions which can only be dealt with on a global scale through dedicated international cooperation requiring immense scientific and technological effort and gigantic material and financial resources.

All these problems affecting all of humanity can be resolved; however, this would demand an effort and means which are beyond the capability of any one state alone. Yet, at this very time, the principal imperialist superpower, the United States of America, focuses its scientific research and technological development primarily on war preparations and production of increasingly lethal weaponry, thus fomenting an ever more costly arms race.

We are convinced that the attention of hundreds of millions must be focused on the truth, on the development of life, and on an effort to disperse the deceptive fog which conceals the truth of where the threat of death is coming from.

Esteemed colleagues, even though we live and create in different societies, even though our work reflects different views of society, we turn to you so that we might, in unity and in accordance with the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, raise our voices against preparations for nuclear war. We need not necessarily agree on everything, but we are neighbors in one house, our only planet, and the fate of one of us depends on the other. The fate of this house we share depends on us all.

Together with masses of hundreds of millions of people craving peace, let us raise our voice and demand a halt to a new round of rearmament. Let us protest against the decision of the American administration on the production of the neutron bomb, and against their intention to place at any cost new American nuclear weapons on the territories of Western Europe. Let us together do all we possibly can toward a ban on weapons of mass destruction and let us together call for disarmament. Let us insist that all the most serious global problems be dealt with through negotiations. Let us devote all our creative power, energy and authority to the defense of this cause.

Let us not forget that the American hawks would prefer to see Europe become the principal area of a nuclear war, Europe, the cradle of a great and noble culture. Let us not forget that a possible nuclear attack would necessarily and justifiably bring about retaliation and catastrophic consequences for people of those nations from whose territories the rockets with nuclear warheads had been fired.

The great social importance of our work, esteemed colleagues, lies primarily in the strength of literature which has the power to rouse human conscience, courage and responsibility to awaken the yearning for a happy and productive life in even richer forms than heretofore, a yearning for understanding among peoples. To defend life and all its values is an inseparable part of our mission. Let then our work and our word as citizens become now and in the future a humanist voice of reason and conscience, a voice of the need for a free peaceful life of all nations and their mutual cooperation.

9496

CSO: 2400/87

WRITER PRESENTS STUDY ON CENSORSHIP, FORBIDDEN LITERATURE

Budapest MOZGO VILAG in Hungarian No 8, Aug 81 pp 67-82

[Article by Akos Szilagy: "The Literature of Sensual Temptation"]

[Text] The primary temptation of forbidden literature--judging from its effects--is neither political, nor moral, etc; it is, to a much greater extent, a sensual temptation. Unlike the political, moral, etc. effects of forbidden literature, this is a temptation which probably none of its readers can remain completely unaffected by. Except, of course, those of its "readers" who actually do the forbidding and who, by virtue of their position in the literary division of labor, from the outset are deprived of this precarious and ecstatic pleasure. For them reading is not only not forbidden, but is a duty which is an explicit requirement in their field of work; one of pure monotony and boredom. The prohibitors are just as bored with forbidden literature as pastry chefs are with their cakes. They are unable to find sensual pleasure even in their own prohibitions, for such a pleasure is not a one-time experience, it does not stem from their personal arbitrariness, nor is it something which in itself is gratifying. It is addressed and directed toward others, and is already in a finished form decided in accordance with predetermined spiritual points of view. The person of the prohibition is no more important here than that of a bureaucrat within the bureaucratic system. In European culture the symbolic figure in the center of this activity has been the censor. A censor may do his work with or without enthusiasm, he may be educated or ignorant, a sensitive soul or a witless harebrain--either way, he will still not be able to find sensual pleasure in his work, for such pleasures are not permissible. For him a literary work is not a "call for freedom"1, but a call for the suppression of freedom. No one has ever met a happy censor! Fanatic censors, maybe, but their fanaticism is really nothing more than an organic inability to be happy. A fanatic is anything but happy. The ecstasy of fanaticism is prosaic and is completely spiritual in nature.

It is a universal rule--as I shall attempt to argue below--that forbidden spiritual products and objects, persons and ideas, which have been outcast and outlawed, develop an inherent and inevitable spiritual relationship with the prohibitors, and by necessity, a sensual bond with the suppressed. The ban, in a sense, doubles the subject to which it applies, by dividing it into a spiritual and a sensual "part". This connection, however, only deserves attention if the relationship behind it is not one of personal eccentricity, and if it is not just a mere action gratuite, but a socially recognized and valid rule, norm or institutional mechanism

which aims to preserve, convey or extend the legitimacy of a given form of rule. Forbidden literature--as the concept suggests--is based on this type of prohibition, regardless whether the connection is conscious or not. The historically changing ideologies and mechanisms which have served to ban literature can only be explored by way of a thorough sociological analysis. The intent of this essay, however, is not to explore the differences among the various taboos of magic practices, or between the "index" of the Christian Church and the modern, secular censorship of the press. As an attempt to present a philosophical approach to the subject, its very aim is to stress the existing similarities and coincidences of substance, and its starting point is the present.

"Forbidden Literature" As Enticer and Demon

The sensual appeal of forbidden literature will continue to last as long there as there are things to ban, reasons for which to ban them, people to ban them for and people who want to ban them. Forbidden literature does not cease to exist just because from time to time certain works are included in it or excluded from it, depending on the changing spiritual views upon which the ban is based, or on the prohibitors' material interests. What is more, forbidden literature does not even have to be read for its sensual power to captivate and fill one with fear, just as a believer does not actually have to commit the sin of adultery to be tempted by its demonic appeal. It is enough for him to know that it exists and to fall dominated by it. For, among other things, the temptation lies in the very fact, that he cannot commit it, that he is forbidden to do it. The person who reads forbidden literature is--in a way--fornicating with literature. He commits the sin and--whether he admits it to himself or not--enjoys the fact that he is committing it. In extreme cases, the reading of forbidden literature may also trigger remorse and feelings of guilt (not only in the religious, but also in the political sense); what is more,--at a certain level of narrow-mindedness--it may even end with confession (in the case of literature forbidden in the secular sense, this would be the equivalent of political denunciation). The point, however, is that as a result of the ban, literature takes on a demonic and enticing character, while its reader becomes a fornicator. (Naturally, this is merely a false mental reflection of the given symbolic rule's religious, political and ideological perversion.)

Inaccessibility, concealment and secrecy--all tend to slip an element of sensual excitement into reading forbidden literature. The original and traditional reader mentality, therefore, becomes inevitably aesthetic. As a result, originally unaesthetic subjects are being aesthetically transmitted into our consciousness. It is for this reason, that often after we have "taken possession" of the forbidden work we feel no satisfaction at all. After all, we are talking about works, politics, philosophy, morality and art. The disappearance of a particular work's sensuality, however, does not for a moment put an end to the sensual appeal of forbidden literature as a whole, nor to the enjoyment of it itself. The reason for this is that the thing we enjoy is not the original content of the work, but its incidental and transient form; what we enjoy is the taste of the forbidden fruit, what is more the ban itself which banishes the work into the world of sinners. As a result of the ban, the forbidden part of literature becomes sensual, thus causing us to disregard all of its specific and unique characteristics and content. Forbidden literature is also a secret literature: it represents the

after-life of living literature, which may appear both as a ghost and an enticer. Sometimes it frightens its victim, sometimes it fills him with pleasant thrills. "Secret" is the word which perhaps best expresses the contradiction between the original content (and form) of forbidden literature and its incidental form (and content). For secret is "a universal sociological form which shows complete indifference toward its contents' meaning of value....Secrets provide a special position for those who harbor them, they behave purely as sociologically defined stimuli and are theoretically independent of the content which they protect". (Georg Simmel²) It is this type of secret which--in the mind of the reader--first awakens a literary work from its material dream; it is what makes the taboo exciting. At first, acceptance is aimed, even unintentionally, at this form of sensuality. Because just as sensual love is indifferent to the woman's individuality (age, appearance, morals, feelings) and is interested only in abstract womanhood³, so is the reader of forbidden literature indifferent to the "individuality" of the writing, its own content and the "Project" which the work contains; he is interested only in the sensuality which lies in its negativity and which has been activated as a result of the ban.

This secondary aesthetic character, of course, does not constitute a new subject; it merely covers the original with a new layer, which is not intended to mean that the subject is dead from the outset, or that it is something which one can treat as he pleases. It is the manner of acceptance which becomes sensual, and it does so in such a way so that it causes no significant distortion in the subject itself. It simply enjoys the subject differently, perceiving it to be something different than what we see it to be. This is why we say that this secondary aesthetic character is transient both in the historical sense and from the point of view of individual acceptance. As soon as it wears off of the work it can easily lose all of its magic, because from that moment on the only way it can survive is by using the power of its own magic. As far as individual forbidden works are concerned, reading them constitutes continuous desecration and profanation. The pleasure of getting a taste of the secret is followed by bitter mornings of disappointment. In these cases, too, the paradox of the "aesthetic state" remains valid. The sensual freshness of the forbidden work can only be preserved by pushing it aside. We forego reading it, in order to preserve its sensuality for ourselves for ever. By way of this platonic reader relationship, the sensuality of the forbidden work remains inexhaustible. It is true: the less of an actual reader he is, the more the potential reader of forbidden literature is exposed to temptation, for he must be satisfied with the sensual fantasies which he created about it, just as an adolescent or a monk must.

It is, therefore, not so much the work itself which the secret doubles, as it is our acceptance, our views and our relationship with that work. The secret changes the reader's position in his relationship with the work. A secret can only be shared, it turns the reader into an insider, it changes reading into a mysterious ritual which is advisable to be kept secret in front of others. It confronts, ostracizes and uplifts. Not only does the work become independent, it becomes fetishized and begins to wield a certain amount of power over the reader. In their relationship the work is the initiator. It flirts and teases until the unsuspecting reader loses his self-control, abandons his reticence and forgetting everything he had been taught in school, attacks the work with his senses keyed up with excitement.

Looking at it from this point of view, we cannot differentiate between works which are written with the knowledge that they will be banned, and works which--regardless of their original intent--are dragged into the community of forbidden literature as a result of existing social divisions between literature and culture. In other words, it does not make any difference whether a literary work is the "enticer" or the "victim" of the ban. In general, only a somewhat small--although undoubtedly the most militant--part of forbidden literature is comprised of "reflected" forbidden works, the subject, theme and self-consciousness of which stems from their opposition to the ban and from their daring contempt for, or derisive evasion of the ban. In such cases, instead of surrounding the work with an air of sensuality, the ban becomes the theme and the subject of the work, that is to say, it gives the work a double meaning.

Censorship and Index

This unique quality of forbidden literature which stems from the sensual appeal of the forbidden fruit and the demonic power of secrets, was cleverly described by Marx in one of his early works, entitled "Discussions on the Freedom of the Press": "In the country of censorship--he wrote--everything is forbidden, which means that printing an uncensored writing is considered a notable event. It is viewed as a martyr, and there can be no martyrs without glory and believers. It is considered an exception, which only adds to its value. Every mystery is captivating. Where public opinion is a mystery to itself, it is automatically captivated by any writing which formally breaks through the mystical barriers. Regardless whether they are good or bad, censorship turns all forbidden writings into extraordinary writings, while freedom of the press divests every writing of its materially impressive element"⁴.

From the point of view of our inquire, therefore, the contrast between forbidden and non-forbidden literature should not be viewed in terms of "free" vs. "suppressed" literature, or "rebellious" vs. "subservient" literature or even as "censored" vs. "uncensored", but rather as "secret" v . "open" literature, as "sinful" and "mystical" literature vs. Moral and plain literature, as "diabolic" or "demonic" literature vs. "angelic" or even "saintly" literature, as "profane" vs. "formal" (usually religiously acquired) literature, and as sensual vs. spiritual literature. This point of view, however, is not intended to be forced onto anyone; it stems from the very nature of suppressed practices, and as such it is applicable not only to forbidden literature: "every suppressed practice or belief will have an inevitably profanizing outlook—even if they do not happen to intend to desecrate--inasmuch as by virtue of their mere existance they question the monopoly of handling sacred matters that is, the legitimacy of the holders of this monopoly" (Pierre Bourdieu).⁵

This paradox connection (i. e., that the spiritual ban pertaining to the subject views that subject as a sensual one) can be clearly seen in the historically early forms of forbidden literature already; let us consider, for example, the differences between the apocryphal and canonized texts of the bible. Let us also not forget that it was Christianity which first treated sensuality as a principle: "it was Christianity that drove and purged sensuality from this world (...) Christianity was the first to spiritually define sensuality (S. Kierkegaard).⁶ The reverse side of this is usually also true: everything which has been driven out or purged

from this mortal world, having been found to be in contradiction with the principle of the spirit, returns from the other side in the form of sensual temptation. Sensuality provides a way to defend and rebel against spiritual oppression. Since, however, sensuality feeds not on liberation but on oppression and suffering, it is a perverted kind of sensuality. What could demonstrate this better than the fact that it detaches itself from the spirit and stand in contradiction with it--it is a denonic sensuality, and abstract sensuality. It asserts itself as an independent force both towards those who impose the ban and toward the world itself. When a literary work's strives for autonomy are suppressed, that autonomy assumes a distorted, negativistic form, as if it were meant to be a revenge, a kind of inevitable punishment for the imposing of the ban. The problem is that this also affects the literature, the work itself.

Incidentally, during the long centuries of the Christian Church's autocratic rule, this spiritual principle was manifested in a transcendence conveyed through belief, and starting from the bourgeois era, usually in a kind of quasi-transcendence conveyed through politics (i.e. moral and ideological Sollens, the Future Humanity, etc.) The relationship of this type of ideologies--i.e. the type which aims to place the entire practice under its control and which strives for autocratic rule--to literature (to the work, the author, the institution) is without exception a relationship between the subject and the means which it uses to express, popularize, advertise, etc. something. All attempts for autonomy are ruthlessly avenged as deviations and departures from the proper and normal.⁷ But this is precisely what awakens literature to a sense of its autonomy. At first, the manifestation of this autonomy is still negative, taking on the form of sensual temptation. It is the ban imposed on it which makes it realize that it is not an instrument, that it is something different, and this sense of being something different fills it with pleasure.

For forbidden literature to exist, having an ideology that justifies the banning of such literature by itself is not enough; the ban can only become a separate spiritual principle, and can only be organized into an apparatus, if the ideology which it represents is still not quite natural or is not natural anymore, if it still has not been able to establish or has already lost its uniqueness and exclusiveness. Its absolute and eternal character--together with the world order which it has become identified with--becomes insecure and uncertain. Thus the sphere of forbidden literature could not become isolated in literature before--as in Europe, for example--the official apparatus of the Christian Church became isolated from the community of Christians, or--as in China--before the Imperial bureaucracy became separated from the communities of land. Regulation of the literary public (even if it is limited only to the caste of those who can read and write)⁸, and the selection of works--according to some higher spiritual point of view--requires an ideologically and politically well-organized apparatus for administering the ban. It was the emergence of a "totalitarian" ideology and the consolidation of political power over individuals and social classes which provided the precondition for the Church and the imperial bureaucracy to become guardians of the "symbolic order" in moments of danger, and to find their own, and by no means always symbolic, means to help them preserve that order. The reason for this was that in these societies upsetting the symbolic order carried with it the danger that it might lead directly to the disintegration of the entire social order. It was not out of spiritual "narrow-mindedness" that they reacted so sensitively

to every ideological challenge, but because safeguarding the symbolic order directly helped to preserve the political order, and with it the entire politically structuralized social form.⁹

The "Index Librorum Prohibitum" (the "Index of Forbidden Books") was first published in 1559, by pope Paul IV., in other words relatively late, some 100 years after the invention of the press. From time to time, of course, censorship had been used quite early in Europe against doctrines suspected of heresy. In 325, for example, they banned and destroyed the writings of Arius' disciples, the Arians. Also put to the flames were all of the writings of Arnold Brescia. And lists of forbidden works, the so called catalogues, had existed well before the first index appeared. In 1515, Leo X. even had the offices of the Holy Officium, the Inquisition--a unique church police--taking part in the work of compiling these catalogues. He had made it the task of the Inquisition's special congregation of cardinals, to announce and implement the imposition of bans.¹⁰ The spreading of printing merely made the imposing of bans better organized; in the final analysis, however, the activation of church censorship was not the result of this technical invention, but rather it came as a response to the various heretic movements, above all the Reformation, which brought the first major shock to the unity and external validity of that symbolic rule.

As the bourgeois spirit presented its challenge, it also brought with it the emergence of secular censor bureaus (the first of which was established in 1486, on the orders of the prince-elector Berthold of Mainz). The old order was already on the defensive, although here and there it was still able to launch counter-attacks. The church, however, became increasingly less able to single-handedly manage the defense of the symbolic rule and the legitimization of its political power. Religious polemics were still kept within the pale of the Church, and only religious consciousness and organization were torn into pieces in their wake. It never even occurred to anyone during these polemics, that the other side might have an earthly interest in arguing his "official" or "heretic" position; what was at stake, they thought, was finding "the" divine truth and the only interpretation of that truth which precludes all other possibilities. Heretic teaching--covertly or overtly--was itself striving for spiritual monopoly and absoluteness. From the 18th century on, however, these religious polemics gave way to political debates, which began to question not only the "mistakes" and "blunders" of those exercising the symbolic rule, and not just the "imperfections" of the official ideology, but the entire feudal-political system already. A new truth emerged: the "heretic" political teaching no longer asked to be placed before the same tribunal with its opponent; instead, it set up a new tribunal, the tribunal of reason. Criticisms of the Catholic religion and church gave way to a universal criticism of religion ("Ecrasez l'infâme"), which was no longer just a kind of opposing religious trend or heresy within Christendom; instead; it became established as a universal philosophical criticism of the Church (i.e. the atheistic ideologies, demands to separate state and church, declaring religion to be a private matter, etc.)

Forbidden literature had never been richer or livelier than during the transitional period in which all of the forces that had a stake in overthrowing the existing feudal society were already in place, and when the old institutions were still able to keep them under control by outlawing, persecuting and imposing bans on their various manifestations and representatives. The narrow-mindedness, incompetence and even defenselessness of the old order's institutions of oppression in

coping with the change lied precisely in their inability to go beyond imposing bans. "The ruling class no longer has faith in its ideology. It has assumed a defensive position; it does, to a certain extent, attempt to delay the spreading of new ideas, but it is unable to do anything to stop them without itself becoming imbued with them. It has recognized that the best instruments for building up its rule are its own religious and political principles, but since it views them merely as instruments, it does not have complete faith in them anymore; as a result, the revealed truth has become displaced by a pragmatic truth. Although censorship and suppression have become more visible, they hide secret weaknesses and desperate cynicism."¹¹ The reason for this was that instead of ending or undermining it, the imposition of bans intensified and multiplied the effectiveness of these new efforts. It confronted them with the spirit and the order which it was protecting, in other words, it placed that spirit and order into a relative position, it helped shape its opponent's self-awareness, increase its independence and outline its goals. This mode of defense, however, even if temporarily, can only be effective in a society in which the safeguarding of the symbolic order is directly contributed to the preservation of the political system--i.e. of a society founded on coercion and force--in other words, in which social rule is based not on material, but on personal, ideological and political foundations.

Destruction, Revival

As a result of the bourgeois transformation, the individual, the various social groups and classes gradually broke out of the universe of the closed ideology--that was so jealously protective of its own purity and monopoly--which they had been locked into by the long centuries of European feudalism. The poetry of the bourgeois revolution called for equality, fraternity and liberty, while the prose of bourgeois life went on to separate ideas, people and their conditions of existence, viewing them as unrelated concepts. It, however, also secularized and profaned all spheres of political and ideological life, which previously had been united by religion under the control of the Church bureaucracy. Although at a rate and in a manner which differed from country to country, forbidden literature itself was beginning to lose ground and fade away. In a bourgeois society interwoven with liberal political practices, the screening of ideas is not something which is primarily and directly ideological in nature, it is not decided on the basis of views advocated by some special autocratic ideology; literature is not controlled by the use of certain ideas or political means, just as it is not compelled directly to adopt a given subject or form.

In a developed bourgeois society power does not manifest itself in the political forms of personal dependence, and it does not accumulate on the side of the symbolic rule; instead, it becomes an independent material force supported by an economy that had found its independence under capitalism, and as such it places itself above personal relations and above all of the ideological, moral and political objectives of individuals, groups and classes. The precondition for this unparalleled personal, political and ideological autonomy, which here is used to describe the movement, self-organization and self-expression of individuals as well as social groups and classes, is the autonomy of capital. This, however, ruthlessly subordinates all spiritual, political and personal autonomies: it makes them formal, although by no means gratuitous or purposeless. Thus, while in the realm of ideas this is a most colorful and lively period (a period branded

by conservative critics as "chaos", "disorder" and "decline", and celebrated by liberal apologetics as "pluralism" and "true freedom of expression"), in everyday life it is the somber logic of material power which prevails--but not in the form of an ideology, nor as a spiritual mediator between people and people, and people and objects. It does not subjugate the universal order as new ideas should; instead, projecting itself as the universal order and the natural state of affairs, it proceeds to subjugate those ideas as things which--while nice, perhaps,--are somewhat useless and which, therefore, are not to be taken quite seriously. Capital does not present itself as a "God" or a "tyrant", who must be driven from throne but as nature itself. Ideologically, there are just as few restrictions on obtaining capital as there are on breathing through one's nose, and it is virtually just as impossible for everyone to get some, as it is to avoid death and continue living. "Bourgeois ethics"--wrote Sarte--"do not emanate from Providence: their universal and abstract rules are materially defined; they are not products of an all-powerful congenial will, rather, they resemble physical laws which have not yet been defined."¹²

This new form of subjugation is certainly neither ideological, nor political: it cannot be personified, it cannot be tied to any special ideological slogans, it cannot be traced back to tyranny or political interests and it cannot be blamed on any "ideals", "persons", "doctrines" or "parties".

Bourgeois society has not eliminated subjugation itself, only the type of subjugation which is based on ideology and politics.¹³ The consensus of the bourgeois society has been voiced by the very ideology, which--at least from the point of view of its ideals--has traditionally advocated the freedom of all ideologies, beliefs, convictions and political views: liberalism.¹⁴ It, however, does not recognize the synthetic relationships either, between reality and ideas or between one group of ideas and another. Its "pluralism" refers to the atomization and coexistence of ideas, principles and persons.

Only a society which no longer has to rely on political and ideological--i.e. force and propaganda--methods to "eliminate" this social power which has come to assert itself as a material power, but which instead has matured, in every respect, to the point where it can replace material and state rule with direct rule by individuals and social groups, and production for profit with production to meet needs only such a society can hope to rise above this, in recent history unique and dualistic structure, which while being more favorable from the point of view of spiritual freedom, is less congenial from the standpoint of material power.

As long, however, as the overthrow of capitalist rule, the "retaking" of social power which has so alienated itself, can only be accomplished by political means, in other words, as long as the domination of persons over persons cements into a political power, a state form over people, eliminating all remnants of the autonomous self-organization of social groups and classes (as elements of the old dualistic organization which have outlived their usefulness), the establishment of monolithic and monopolistic political and ideological power will continue to be unavoidable, as will the development of a closed ideological universe, which while patiently or impatiently does tolerate other ideologies, can never give up its superiority or abandon its rightful claim to the absolute truth which it is willing to share with no one. Without an ideology it could not be what it should be right

from the start, and it could not accomplish all the things which—in place of, and in opposition to capital—it has undertaken with the combined eagerness of all who have fallen behind.

Despite all its efforts, of course, the "truth" can never conform precisely to the ideology, just as there can never be an exact correspondence between economic realities and political demands. The traditional political means of regulating, restricting and banning the "truth" begin to reassert themselves. Among other things, this leads to a resurfacing of "approved" and "forbidden" literature, "authorized" and "unauthorized" authors (and even readers!); in literature, we begin to see a conflict emerging between the "official" and the "unofficial" spirit; a whole line of works and authors become blacklisted; libraries become decimated (while at the same time private libraries are decimated by fear); a part of these banned works are retained as "reserve books"; publishers and periodicals are placed under central control; foreign publications are strictly screened and undesirable works are withheld; the past becomes subjected to a process of ideological selection, and limits are established to restrict public exchanges of views and public thinking regarding the present as well as the future.¹⁵

Removal of the persistently recurring "past" (that is, from now on: the present) continues, and so does the constant purging of the truth of its perplexing elements that are in contradiction with the official spirit. "Really old garbage" (Marx), which tends to inevitably accumulate day after day, must be cleared away.¹⁶ It would put the present which has now become immaculate, in a bad light, and especially: it would make the present relative and comparable to something else, putting it into a time frame--and not even in the time frame of the story of salvation--and eventually it would be impossible to bring it under control. In its old, misguided way it would again begin to show signs of independence and resistance. Ideas, books, archives, as well as institutions, parties, persons and sometimes even entire social classes end up in this "garbage dump". Hauling them there is taking on increasingly incredible dimensions, and in the final analysis it does not solve anything. The "garbage" can be collected, stored and burned (pardon the frivolous comparison!), but the "garbage dump" itself cannot be hauled away, the reaccumulation of "garbage" cannot be prevented and the "garbage men" gradually become more and more independent and thus will have a direct stake themselves in seeing to it that the accumulation of "garbage" continues.

But why does this will, which is striving so hard for the truth, demand a completely new and blank page in history, why does it want to "put a dash" between the past and the present, and why does it try so hard to present itself in every respect as the new truth whose time has already arrived? Because without doing so it would become impossible to create the kind of unprecedented concentration of political power--aiming at and drawing its legitimacy from the future--which alone can insure modernization--excluding capital and with it all of the self-regulating mechanisms of a "padded" economy and progressing at an accelerated rate--in the backward and underdeveloped nations of the "second" and "third" world. Only this (explanation) can enable us to really understand why the historical beginnings of socialism have taken the form of state-socialism, and why socialism has commenced in the East; developments, which naturally have added new contradictions to the already existing contradictions between capital and labor, and which to this day have defined, stiffened and retarded the only possible way of world-historical development

which can reunite the goals of democracy and socialism. The beginning--from the point of view of the historical destiny of socialism--is laden with the burden of allowing some unfortunate and terrible possibilities to materialize; this, however, is hardly anything optional. This is the only way to break through the net of increasingly disadvantageous determinations.¹⁷ The reason and purpose behind the emergence of the late feudal state was to become the first testing ground for the strategy of state-accelerated closing-up--east of the Elba (enlightened absolutism, the czarist bureaucratic state, the Prussian way, etc.). The inevitability of the beginning, however, is not in itself inconsistent with having alternatives to select from during the beginning. While from the point of view of historical philosophy it is perhaps unimportant whether early, or "raw" communism, or as we have historically come to know it, state-socialism, is "despotic" or "democratic"¹⁸, it is not so when we look at it from the point of view of those who make up history, the specific individuals themselves. And when we come right down to it, it is not negligible when it comes to a choice between development or rigidity either. It is not unimportant whether the supremacy of the state is based on terror or on a consensus stemming from hegemony; neither is it immaterial to note what dimensions its supremacy will take, to what extent it can permit the forming of autonomous interests, and in general, how it is able to relate to all of this and how it views itself and its own historical role. It is not at all a matter of indifference whether it can make its subjects to celebrate their losses of freedom as the realization of "real" freedom, or whether it reinforces its own oppressive nature in their mind, thus allowing room for schizophrenia that results from such a situation to spread, while fighting against itself, or at least tolerating the autonomous movements of society.

But let us, for another little while, get back to that "happy" state, where "forbidden literature" unnoticeably passed away. Is it really so great that it died.

Publicity Device

Capital turns even literature into an enterprise. It cares only about one thing: the literature business must be profitable. The system of everything-is-for-sale engulfs literature, too, and this system—even if not in a spiritual, in a grossly material sense—is itself monolithic: it strives for exclusiveness and parades as the absolute world system. From here on, however, it is no longer a unified political and ideological power that subordinates and engulfs social life as a whole, which regulates or limits literary production, but the totally impersonal and—from the political, ideological and moral point of view—completely "unprincipled" and "ideless" power of the market-commodity concept. Naturally, this power also has its own unique political legitimacy, and it also has its own ideologies of self-defense and offense¹⁹, but it is very well off without them, it gets along with anything as long as the attacks and challenges to its legitimacy are kept on a spiritual level and stop short of actually tempering with it. It can go as far as to take radically anti-capitalist literature that rebels against it and turn it into a commodity, as long as there is demand for it on the literary market. The reverse of this is also true: the profit-logic of the enterprise will refuse to defend even the most sophisticated apologetic literature, if it does not sell. The entrepreneur's involvement in the dissemination of literature is based not on ideological, but on business interests. Capital-praising literature, if it is unmarketable, does not generate any capital; instead, it leads to bankruptcy.

In a market which is subordinated to the logic of capital, the only elements capable of suspending business considerations are political organizations, state institutions, private foundations pursuing their own goals, which are maintained from other capitalist ventures. In this sense, the various organizations of propaganda, ideological education, manipulation, and finally, research can attain a certain degree of independence from the market, but at the same time they become dependent on their clients, supporters and sponsors.

As we have just seen, the entrepreneur's interest in literature is based not on literary, ideological or political, but on business considerations. He could also invest his money elsewhere, and would do just that if the literature business were not profitable. If it helps to increase his capital, he has no reason to be concerned about it, and if it does not bring in any profit, he has no reason to support it. His personal reservations, moral doubts or political affiliations vis à vis a particular work are private matters, which have nothing to do with business. A rich publisher, of course, is able to afford to do many things; he may patronize certain authors, he may lend his support to certain spiritual and political trends (while dropping others), he may also publish works that are not especially profitable, but the financial means necessary to do this, again, could only come from his own capitalist undertakings. Standing up against the large, monopolistically structured publishers, daily papers, and less often periodicals, breaking their market--and, of course, at a certain point--spiritual terror, is not merely a question of moral courage and new ideas (these could be engulfed and "integrated" within moments by the attacked side itself); it is a question, first of all, of capital strength and competitiveness, as demonstrated by the case of the tragic-fated, progressive Italian publisher, Feltrinelli.

From this point on, the limits of free speech seem to take the form of purely material and financial restrictions, which is an indication that the idiocy of "unprincipled" and "idealess" things is very much complex: it is "tolerant" toward "principles" and "ideas", and is definitely in support of "pluralism"; there is only one "tiny little" thing in which it does not tolerate any opposition; and this thing is called: financial profit. This new bourgeois publicness, as manifested in literature, is no longer subjected to spiritual censorship; it, however, is subjected to material censorship which compared to the former, is much more complete, much better refined and much more incomprehensible and unassailable. Money is the protagonist of the capitalist society. Restrictions on obtaining it are not personal, political or ideological; instead, they are "economic" and material restrictions, restrictions resulting from private property. These restrictions seem to assert themselves as the natural laws of human existence, which no turbulence, back-talk, denunciation, ridicule and criticism can ever overthrow or undermine. Spiritually, these natural laws are conveyed and confirming is all any ideology can do, even those, which from the point of view of their content are aimed precisely at denouncing, criticising and contesting these natural laws. On a territory dominated by the material power of a "well-padded" independent economy, the direct power-constituting and power-shattering effects of spiritual manifestations, as well as their counter-power, which has been virtually the equivalent of direct action, comes to an end. The bourgeois writer of the 20th century, who is now "free to do anything: romantically longs for the return of the "bad old times", when liberal writing was still facing suppression and restrictions: "A spiritual creation in those days were considered doubly significant, for it

expressed ideas that gave rise to social upheavals, while at the same time also placing its author in danger." (J.P. Sarte)²⁰ On the territory of material rule, literature has lost its once-enjoyed power. The system of political and spiritual oppression, the system of personal dependence which itself was either helping to preserve, or aiming to destabilize indirectly.

Even radical anti-capitalist ideologies--precisely because they are "only" spiritual manifestations--can do nothing more than convey these non-ideological domains and to regenerate the system of material dependence. They do this primarily by virtue of their mere existence, because they tend to emphasize the quasi-spiritual grandiosity of capitalist power, its "tolerance toward political and ideological matters, as well as its "pluralism". This fact indeed becomes an argument in the various ideologies which defend the system and which, of course, neglect to explain the real relationship between actual and spiritual power. Second, the circumstances under which it must strive to attain spiritual influence leave it with no other choice than to go out into the market and start looking for buyers. Thus, while it is fighting against the private ownership-based system of business enterprise, in reality it becomes its prisoner itself: it turns into a business enterprise. Spiritually, therefore, it is forced to help legitimize the capitalist relationship, and in practice, to accept and reproduce the capitalist logic. Even though compared to the world of feudal personal and ideological dependence or isolation this can indeed be considered freedom, the question arises: "Can a press that has stooped to becoming an industry be considered faithful to its character: does it act in accordance with its noble nature; is such a press really free? A writer must certainly earn in order to exist and to be able to write, but he should under no circumstances exist and write in order to earn." (Marx)²¹

As the capitalist society, in which all human relations are subjected to an alienated economy, but in which no one has control over that economy, grows increasingly stronger, literature which had been subjected to spiritual--religious and political--censorship, i.e. forbidden literature, begins to gradually lose ground giving way to "free" literature which is subjected to material censorship. As this occurs, "forbidden literature" itself becomes a business, a good investment. We are talking not only about pornography, but in general, about uncovering and making public secrets and mysteries which the bourgeois press attaches such great importance to (publication of secret documents and correspondence, the airing of intimacies, etc.). Naturally, actual censorship, literary persecution, seizing of works and prosecution of authors are resorted to only in extraordinary cases, depending on the extent to which feudal-ecclesiastic institutions have continued to assert themselves and on the manner in which their role has continued to manifest itself in a particular country²², and even then they are only publicity moves, and at times provoked and only imitated procedures designed to turn a work into marketable work, and occasionally, the author into a martyr. (Here we will not deal with the capitalism of fascist-type totalitarian states, for it is a separate and complex subject, one which from the point of view of bourgeois development as a whole is merely an "interlude", representing the "exception" rather than the "rule". Literature, of course, may "ban itself", once it loses its patience with this newly found freedom: it may withdraw and exclude itself from market-controlled literature, it may decide to break with it, it may choose to rebel, shock, disgust, etc. There has, however, never been an outcast, outlawed, self-exiled or underground literature, that would have been able to find its way out of the

market's binding hold, and avoid the fate of sooner or later turning into a business venture. The very thing that has eventually turned it into such a venture has been its rebelling stance against the omnipotence of the market and its goods. The monetary sensuality of scandal, self-exclusion, self-ban and rebellion is only good for giving a little boost to market demand (sometimes, of course, it is a pre-planned, consciously employed publicity device). The publicity image of the "forbidden fruit" turns even inedible foods into edible ones. The literature of the bourgeois era, therefore, does not get to enjoy the questionable joy of possessing the sensual appeal of a forbidden fruit; at best, its destructive force is used as a publicity device. In the new, bourgeois culture the place of forbidden literature is taken not by the literature of Negativity, the Great Negation, but the literature which from the point of view of business is simply uninteresting and unfit to publish (because it is unsalable or is losing money).

As far as the sensuality of rebellion is concerned--"non olet": money has no odor. But it is not only the human nose which is unable to sense the odor of money; money is similarly insensitive to the odor of human matters. It does not have the slightest intention to dwell on the political, moral and artistic content of "underground" literature and make faces with its nose up in the air. Business, is business. And from this point of view there is only one thing that matters: how much, where, and what can be sold most rapidly and with the greatest efficiency on the market.

Anachronism and Coercion

The literature of sensual temptation reappears again in those anti-capitalist societies, which must still resort to state rule and political and ideological force to break, and more or less replace the power of capital. In these societies aggregate power is once again the sum of purely political and ideological factors. Consequently, the criteria which they establish limiting the freedom of spiritual activities and the functioning of the social public and of the various political institutions, are once again contextually and spiritually motivated, in contrast with the--spiritually and qualitatively--insensitive criterium of profitability. This, however, is not necessarily an unequivocal step forward in all cases, since this new spiritual and political dependence, the political and ideological supremacy of the state, the lack of autonomous social organization continue to carry with them the possibility of establishing new relations of power--similar to those of pre-capitalist societies--imposing irrational restrictions and allowing new inhumanities to take their toll. And today we know very well: these are not just possibilities! The danger is especially great, that in those anti-capitalist societies which are founded on this policy, the political and ideological state will use these new qualitative and spiritual criteria against various people and social groups, and--claiming to act in the name of the common interest!--it simply equates itself with that society. It may restrict, eliminate, destroy, persecute every spiritual manifestation, institution and organization which emphasize dissimilarity, diversity and duality; in other words, non-uniformity even if they do so involuntarily, by virtue of their mere existence.

But we can agree--taking it out of the context of historical movements that have occurred until now, and separate from the network of mutually reinforcing and traversing economic (the "second and third world"), political (traditions, imitation

models, catch-up strategies) and military (influence zones, the geographic situation) forms of coercion--so once again, can we agree with those who already claim to see the horrible features of a new post-capitalist civilization making their mark on our admittedly distorted present? Why would "under-development" point to the future instead of the past? Just because the new society is one which ideologically is aimed at the future? Does that mean, therefore, that we must also equate it with its own ideology? In reality, the danger is much more real than due to the fact that these material and spiritual preconditions are lacking--there could be a forced (and, of course, not simple!) return to pre-capitalist forms. These horrible features identified mistakenly as "new" and "forthcoming", are actually nothing more than atavisms and anachronisms, which can be consistently observed even in the non-discredited past of these societies. None of this, however, is going to make the prospect of a frightening union between the past and the future more comforting, especially when we are faced with the consequences of these anachronisms which at times can be catastrophic. After all, it is not all the same whether we equate it with the nature of the new civilization, or whether we see it as the embodiment of the economic and cultural immaturity of that new civilization, imbedded in the paradigm of a coerced "third-road" direction of development.²³ For this will determine our relationship with the established order and the image of our own future.

The old thesis is reconfirmed: No social formation can ever disappear until all of the productive forces have evolved which can never be replaced by newer and more advanced production relations that would allow it more sufficient breathing room, and until their conditions of material existence are fully developed in the womb of the old society itself.²⁴ The problem is, that in the paradigm of "third-road" forms of development that results from unequal progress²⁵, their very aim--at least that of the various political movements which subscribe to the ideology of Marxian socialism--is to place these conditions of material existence onto a political foundation and to do so already within the--purely political guaranteed--framework of the new society itself. Based purely on political (force, coercion) and ideological foundations (propaganda, faith, fanaticism and heroic sentiments), however, this can only begin, at best, but can never be carried through, for no amount of will and sentiment can spare people from the fate of feeling compelled to produce the material conditions of the new society first. Consequently, they become increasingly forced to work within their own politically guaranteed limits--as if acting as a test-tube, artificially--trying to recreate the womb of the old system, and use it--presuming that they recognize in time the difference between what they are actually able, and what they want to achieve--as a kind of "incubator".²⁶ This, however, does not reduce their inner contradictions; it merely provides them with a new form of movement and a prospect for their release.

The pre-socialist tasks of "original stockpiling" and industrialization--in addition to the disconnection of the economy's "self-regulating" mechanisms, and to the conditions of breaking out of the capitalist world market--could only be carried out by a state which represented the entire society. Spiritually this led it to try to abridge the gap between its social goals, economic tasks and ideals, and reality using ideology: it forced the chaotic, dynamic and "impure" reality under the universe of a single, closed and unified ideology. Only this kind of ideology, and only a coercive apparatus which totalizes that ideology directly extending it over the whole of reality, could lead people to accept, and convince them to view

the non-existent as existent and the existent as "non-existent". All spiritual manifestations (from gestures and mimics to political jokes, and from political platforms to artistic styles), which did not belong to this universe or pose a threat to its homogeneity from the inside, suddenly became invalid, damaging and hostile. And they were all handled and treated accordingly. This anachronism--as I already pointed out--did not stem from the mental infatuation, foolishness and impatience of any particular person or group; instead, it stemmed from the nature of state socialism, that is, from the fact that the realization of socialism as a form of political society occurred not in a democratic, but in a despotic political system. Of course, in a society "imbeded" in politics, the role of individuals becomes immensely and dangerously more important, however, instead of pursuing their own personal ideas, they follow the logic--which is, of course, also intertwined with their interests--of one of the various types of political society. The life of societies organized in this manner was imbued with conservative ethos, the self-discipline of consensus was replaced by the iron discipline of terror, the avant-garde of professional revolutionaries was succeeded by a caste of bureaucrats (thus giving life to the most oppressive form of the political possibilities presented by enlightened avant-guardism), and the legal process of natural leader selection was supplanted by a uniform process of charismatic and traditional selection of the unfittest.

This ideologically overexaggerated monolitism--as we know--is "nothing more than a misconception of the conceited mind, which holds that within the limits it had outlined, history will come to an end, and future events can be nothing more than mere reproductions of the concepts of a unique but absolutely alienated center" (Fuad Muhic).²⁷ Although it is a misconception, it is one which actively strives for realization. The reason for this is that following the overthrow of material power, ideology and politics become the most materialistic movements in the social world. And it is a fact that an idea which has become materialized and is striving for realization, behaves differently from "idealess" and "senseless" material, i.e. from matter itself. The moment "spirit" becomes combined with practice, the dispassionate apathy which matter has displayed toward all spiritual manifestations, every ideology, faith and conviction comes to an end. Since it is not matter but spirit, since it is not objective but subjective and since it is not a quantity but a quality--it cannot exist without appreciating the human world, and it cannot do without choices, priorities or "biases": it must state, negate, challenge, attract and dismiss. Whenever it is the "spirit" which begins to build new forms of practice, it always seems "more impatient" and "more restricted" in doing so than "matter". The reason for this is that from its point of view it really does matter what it decides to accept or reject, what its choices are and why, and how and according to what values it goes about sorting out the truth. It must reject or subordinate all values and criteria which recognize only one--a purely quantitative--determination as being of any importance: what can be turned into profit and how much of it can be made. However, this is precisely where the "weak point" of these new forms of practice lies: the greater the distance is between the "spirit" and the "truth", between the prescribed goals and the given possibilities, and the more completely and the more one-sidedly the "spirit" is able to subordinate the whole of the real world, the more tragic its potential consequences are going to be. It is under these kinds of circumstances that the "spirit" begins to portray itself as the starting point of the truth, a divine creative principle, a perfect and pure idea which can never be challenged by the facts. It violates

the truth; it is intolerant toward all other spiritual versions of it which stand in contradiction with its own, and "perceiving" them as "false" spiritual views it strives to eliminate them; as the final step, it takes the new quality criteria and the new standard, and connects them with a tiny "elite", i.e. to the state, portrayed as the subject of the universal interest.

It is here, where one of the great internal contradictions of spiritually founded forms of practice lies; however, only certain historical situations and social preconditions can bring it into light and demonstrate its logical inconsistency. There is, however, no other choice: it either realizes that it is not and can never become one with the truth (and that if it could, it would have horrible consequences), or it will perish. In order for it to become one with the truth it would have to destroy it first, and by the time it would realize that it is holding a corpse, it would be too late already, for it itself would disintegrate under the impact of the resulting catastrophe. But this contradiction might also have a different end: the truth could force it to renounce its statism and its intolerance (while not abandoning its independence and freedom); to place the spiritual wealth and pluralism of actual forms of practice in the center of its set of values, instead of the terror of the pure and self-elated spirit; to affirm and help attain the autonomy of the subject in every human being and social group, to identify with it and to tolerate all differences, dissimilarities and contrasts which were so unimportant during the era of capitalist material rule, and which are to become so vastly important in spiritually conveyed forms of practice.

It does not hurt sometimes to ask ourselves how the founders of "scientific socialism" would have felt, and how they would have acted in a, one might say, corporative society²⁸ which has adopted their ideology, but which instead of "refunctioning" the bourgeois freedom and helping formal freedoms to evolve into material freedoms, has simply destroyed them. This comes to mind especially when we think about the never-ceasing moral struggle which they had to wage to preserve their own personal integrity, their spiritual and political independence against the movement, and the movement's apparatus, the party. For they themselves never became party-men and never perceived the movement in terms of its narrow, political interpretation; they are not whom we would consider the "martyr", the "fanatic" or the "bureaucratic" activist-type.

"Dependence, even on a workers' party, is a bitter fate"--wrote Engels in a letter to A. Babel.--" Aside from the question of money, it is an unfortunate position to be in for anyone who has initiative to be the editor of a paper which belongs to the party. Marx and I have agreed from the start, that we could never accept such a job, and that the only kind of paper we can have is one which is financially independent even from the party itself. 'Nationalization' of your press may have its disadvantages if it is carried too far. It is imperative to have a press within your party which does not depend directly on the presidium or even the congress, in other words, one which is freely able to form and opposition to challenge certain party measures within the program and the accepted tactics, and staying within the bounds of its party functions, to freely criticize even the program and the tactics themselves. You, as the presidium of the party, must support and even call for the creation of such a press; this way your moral influence on it will still be greater than if it became established partly against your will."²⁹ The reason, of course, that these reservations and objections are considerable is not because they came from Engels, but because they are both true and timely. Furthermore,

these lines do not even apply to the way and entire society's political life and news-reading public is structured; they refer only to conditions within the party. What has subsequently ensued and happened to us since then has been—almost as if it were meant to be a continuation of Engels' letter, using a tone of concern and inner criticism—wittily summed up in a short aphorism by Brecht: "When a state suppresses anti-state literature, it is actually damaging the literature which represents the state interest, by depriving it of its voice, its teeth and its objectivity."³⁰

But the statist notion of literary freedom, according to which the state has the right to do anything, while the only thing literature may do is to become one with that ideology, was alien not only to Engels and Brecht, but also to the first democratic-minded ideologists of the forced state-socialist beginning. This is how Lunacharskiy felt about censorship even during the bloodiest period of the Civil War: "Those who say that we need censorship to prevent publication of even some great artistic works, if they are clearly of a counterrevolutionary tendency; those who say that we must select to ensure that the most necessary works are published before works that are undeniably useful, but rank only as third or even fourth in importance, will be proven right. Those, however, who say: 'forget all these preconceived ideas demanding freedom of speech'; or what 'our communist system calls for state censorship of literature'; or that 'censorship is not merely a terrible feature of a temporary era, but an inseparable part of our consolidated, socialized socialist way of life'; those who conclude that criticism should become a kind of unique denunciation, or that all literary works should conform to the same revolutionary standard, are the kind who, when scratched under the communist surface, will turn out to be dyerzhinordas [unyielding people], who having gotten their hands on a little power, suddenly believe they can act arbitrarily, talk big, and mainly that they can harass and ban."³¹ Later, under the conditions of the NEP-type of state socialism, when the state still had not completely extended its control over the entire economic, cultural and political life, when it still had not eliminated the various degrees of independence among the various organs representing society's interests, and when it did not need to have complete uniformity either in ideology or in spiritual life in general, nor did it feel compelled to control everything from above, literary life was practically bursting with energy. A whole line of autonomously controlled literary organizations were established, each having its own, separate periodical, and sometimes even its own publisher;³² in addition to the state publishers, one after the other, new cooperative book-publishers began to appear; there was also a revival in private book publishing;³³ even some of the more important memoirs of White emigrants that had appeared in the West were published, as were the works of Russian writers living in the West; during the early 1920's, even the Smenchevist movement was granted its own periodical, (i.e. the story of NOVAIA ROSSIYA), and all attempts aimed at imposing the dictatorship of a single group of school of thought on literature were driven back. When, however, from 1929 this policy which has striven for "civil peace", concensus, consolidation and control by economic means was replaced by a new modernized form of "war communism" the state declared war on the entire "civil" (in Russia, at that time, primarily peasant) society, and using practically civil-war methods, it proceeded to eliminate even that little remaining autonomy which it had come to enjoy as a result of the socialist revolution (i.e. the nationalization of the trade unions, the atrophy of the Soviets, the dictatorship of the Secretariat and later of the Secretary, etc.).

To what extent this was avoidable or unavoidable, how much of it was attributable to ideology, to the Eastern way of social development to the political organization of the party, to external--military and economic--challenges, and to personnel changes, will continue to be a subject of debate, an open question for a long time to come. It is a fact, however, that things which during the Civil War period had been considered extraordinary and terribly coercive, became the law and the normal state of affairs in the society which was "consolidated" through the use of terror under state socialism. Eventually, the forcible merging of state and society led to the elimination of all differences of interest that had separated citizenship from class-membership and private interests, which destroyed both the mechanisms of economic--market--regulation and the possibilities of self-management, that is to say, both the essential organizational forms of the still unsurpassable past, and the new forms of the future which is still to be attained.

From that point on, ideology was used to conceal various equation or substitution processes (i.e. general secretary-class, or state-party-people), to substantiate the various evidence supporting it and even prove its progressiveness and superiority, in other words, to help directly to preserve this new political society. It is at this point and for this reason, that ideology becomes a matter of life or death, and it is indeed true: even the smallest crack, split or ambiguity will put a social system built in this manner itself in danger. Today it does not take any kind of special insight or audacity anymore to recognize: this homogenous, static ideology which had uniformly combined and subjected every sphere of the social consciousness and practice, was in every respect a negation of Marx's ideology.

In the light of an ideology which strives for homogeneity and absolute rule, all "differences", all "departures" and all "contradictions" are portrayed and handled as social deviations. In effect, it is the challenge of autonomy, of independent existence, which it considers to be the most catastrophic in all of this, and it is undoubtedly correct in assuming that even in the most harmless "departure" or "difference" there is a temptation of autonomy. However, since it is essentially a spiritual definition, which--and this is where its danger lies--has very real practical requirements and manifestations, by negating, banning, excluding and condemning them it takes the objects of its negation and turns them into sensual objects. Everything that finds itself face to face with this closed, homogenous spiritual universe, will, just by virtue of its opposition, acquire a sensual power: it becomes demonized. It is most significant, that the homogenous ideology itself acknowledges this transformation (incidentally, it acknowledges many things, all we need to do is pay attention!) when in its interpretations it paints a consistently demonic image of both its imaginary and real opposition: it is a constantly tempting, constantly luring, satanic power, or one which has a pact with the devil. This is precisely why it is so dangerous; for instead of affecting our spirit, it appeals to our base senses, and because it "contaminates" us, it "works itself into our heart" and "occupies" our body without us even realizing it or being able to resist it, since secretly we are attracted to it, we want it and enjoy it. We want to take a bite of the forbidden fruit: after all, we are people. The ancient legend of man driven from Paradise is put into a new light, for perhaps the very reason he took a bite of the forbidden fruit was because he wanted to be driven out, because he did not want to continue living in Paradise, where--according to Hegel--"only animals can survive, not people".

Only one method of defense remains: the suppression of sensuality, asceticism, fanaticism and rigorousness. The ethos of state-socialist culture is anti-sensual. Here we witness the return not only of religious taboos and morals taking on a new form (i.e. suppression of bodily pleasures, self-denial, sacrifice, ecstasy, zealotry), but also of the consciously self-humiliating--although, granted, not always actually experienced--ceremonies of self-punishment, confession and mortification (let us recall, for example, the so called "self-criticisms", the rites of ideological self-purification and exorcism, the dividing of the political world into "hell" and "heaven", the modernized and repoliticized forms of witch-hunting which were quite effective in manipulating mass-consciousness, the distortions of the party which were so reminiscent of a church hierarchy, the naturalization of the political morals of Jesuitism, etc.)

For . conceited "spirit", which has never been confronted with its antithesis, and which portrays itself as a fully realized and eternal world order, there can be no more infuriating challenge than sensuality, regardless whether it is expressed in the form of "disorderliness", "rebellion", or a "departure" hidden in an anti-authoritarian gesture, a new artistic trend, or in a joke or remark. However,—by its very nature—it is precisely this spirit which brings to life, expands, unifies and gives a profanizing, critical and liberating meaning to the realm of sensuality by banning, persecuting and excluding more and more of the elements, interrelationships and properties which constitute the truth and the true consciousness from the domain of ideologically sanctioned experiences.

Bans demonize literature, by turning it into the literature of sensual temptation. Lists of "forbidden works" begins to circulate, and sometimes even the mere mentioning of "banned writers" is considered a taboo, works of the past and of the recent past branded as suspicious, heretic and subversive are pulled off the shelves of public libraries (during certain periods this not only keeps the paper-mills busy, but it also causes some anxious people to feverishly begin to decimate their library, burn their letters and manuscripts themselves, in the intimate privacy of their home, which, of course, also has long traditions in our region).

It is precisely as a result of the ban imposed on it, that the power of forbidden literature begins to multiply. The gaps in its moral, artistic and political argumentation become filled in. There is no longer any need to use rational arguments and standards to convince it that it is right. It is convincing and captivating even without that. The temptation of the "devil" is impossible to resist, for it promises not work but enjoyment, it offers not suffering but pleasure. The power of literature lies not in its content, but in its form. The ban gives it a new character in the form of sensual literature, and our relationship with the forbidden fruit, the mysterious object of our desire, is always mixed with a touch of fear and yearning.

Toward a Happy End

Let us sum up what we have said so far. With the rise of the bourgeois society, the monolithic ideology which had striven for absolute predominance, comes to an end. Yet, it is still not human needs, but the needs of the capitalist rule which determine the extent to which the limits of the "permissible" and the "tolerable" can be expanded. Everything, that permits and tolerates capital, and does not

hamper its free movement is permissible and tolerable, especially if they themselves are generating capital. Everything that hampers the movement of capital is to be eliminated; undertakings which fail to produce capital or generate a profit are forbidden not for ideological reasons, but because they are considered financially irrational, impossible and absurd. This is irrespective of how important they may really be from the point of view of the interests and needs of certain people and social groups, and perhaps even of society and humanity as a whole. The rationality of various activities--including spiritual activities--is no longer defined by ideologies, or even by people; it is determined solely by one thing: financial profit. And this is the kind of criticism which can fully assert itself even without, or despite ideologies. If it is able to successfully integrate the existing contradictions between capital and labor, then this external homogeneity is due not to a single, closed ideology, but precisely to the chaotic, coexisting and mutually cancelling or reinforcing voices of various ideologies, to diversity and competition, which constitute the ideological ideal itself in a society whose existence is determined not by ideological ideals, but by the material power of capital.

Theoretically, it is not hard to recognize: the only way material dependence can be overcome in this world of values and norms is by allowing human criteria to become predominant once again. The practical question, however, is this: who can represent this "human criterion", and how (in what manner, with what kind of guarantees, against what and whom); how can it be asserted (and what is it that makes this criterion "human"? in such a way, so that it does not turn into the ideology of anyone's special interests, or into an anachronistic, although perhaps --ideologically--forward looking form of spiritual and personal dependence? How can we ensure, that this anti-human criterion of financial profit which is so alien to man, becomes replaced by something other than the--undoubtedly human--criterion of "royal" prerogatives and privileges. Today, as we witness the crisis of statist, corporative-technology social organization, it is not hard to see that this new "human criterion", portrayed as a kind of final spiritual principle of eternal validity, cannot be "represented" by some privileged group of society, be they the "elite of teachers", the "avant-garde of scientists" or the "caste of bureaucrats". The realization of the "human criterion" may only become the ideology and never the practice of a state which symbolizes the "true consciousness", the "universal interest" or the "future", which in practice also equates itself with the whole of society. No criterion, no goal, no standard or value can be considered human, if it appears outside of real life as a preconceived and pre-determined spiritual principle, which after the autonomy of "individuals" (i.e. of living people, and social groups) has been destroyed, is asserted above them and used against them, and which they are forced to accept "in their own interest". Taking into consideration the manner and the consequences of its realization, even the most consistently "human" criterion may become anti-human. We know that the thesis, "nothing is of greater value to us than the human being" has gotten along beautifully with even the most anti-human practices. For in this abstract formula there are two unmentioned questions which must be answered: what do they mean by "to us" (well, what about "you", are you not human beings?), and what does the human being mean to you in terms of value, what is a human being when expressed in terms of value: autonomy, freedom, subject, a social concept, an individuum, or some sort of instrument, thing or object for something else, which only "you" know, and which is always transcendent in comparison?!

We have discussed how the despotic model of state socialism had evolved within the "second world" development model, inseparably from the forced and absurd jump it had to take to catch up (i.e. forced-paced industrialization, stockpiling based on central distribution), and how this model has had to lock every aspect of practical and spiritual life into a monolithic ideological universe, in order to eliminate capitalist rule. In other words, it was forced--at least to some extent --to return to the pre-capitalist societies' state of personal subordination, authority centered rule and "narrow-minded" ideological state (all of which have also had flourishing traditions in these countries).³⁷ But regardless whether we consider what happened a necessity or an avoidable (and above all: to-be-avoided) "evil", we must be aware of its anachronistic nature. We must recognize, that this kind of a return to the past will quickly lose its external and internal conditions, and will also fail as a "catch-up" strategy. It is becoming clear, that--perhaps from the very start--it is much more advantageous, productive and progressive to temporarily stay with a system of material dependence which, for the time being, differs from that of capitalism only in that it is not subjected exclusively to the logic of profit and to the interests of the capitalists, while also differing from the despotic version of state socialism in that it does not subject all material and personal factors to the state bureaucracy. The integration of external and internal, social and economic differences should continue simultaneously--and, of course, at opposite ends, complementing and correcting one another--through the institutions of marketing, planning and self-government, as well as through the various institutions set up for the safeguarding of interests. Undoubtedly, this leads to a certain kind of pluralism, the kind which during the period of transformation becomes a part of socialism's own history. The socially controlled autonomy of the market is complemented with the autonomy of those directly involved in production, thus making it possible from two sides to control and influence political power, which earlier had been virtually impossible. There is no longer a reason for controlling and curbing spiritual life from above or for depriving it of its autonomy. The greater the autonomy which direct producers have, and the more freedom of action, movement and expression the citizens, social groups and individuals can enjoy, the more is accomplished of the goals of socialism. From this point on, the stability of state rule is no longer the only criterion of socialist power; it is replaced by such factors as the performance, autonomy and democratic organization of the economy, the political institutions and the social public, without having to give its place to state autonomy and absolute rule.

Perhaps we need not dwell too much on the effects of state-directed, disciplined and top-controlled spiritual life, which--looking at its final consequences--have always been demoralizing, and have always spread feelings of apathy, lack of initiative, insincerity and servility. The well-known relationship continues to hold true: "if the people are forced to look upon free writings as illegitimate, they will eventually begin to view everything illegitimate as free, freedom as something illegitimate, and anything legitimate as non-free."³⁸ (Marx) The totalitarian spirit of an alienated and coercive state which transcends all individuals, social groups and classes, destroys the living spirit of the common person, and within the limits of a forced public life creates a "private-mob" psychology.

Human self-liberation does not go by the formula, "one step forward, two steps back". Only this kind of liberation can raise the literature of sensual temptation out of the sinful dimension of sensuality, to which it had been confined by the ban, without yielding ground to the apathy of matter. And once this happens, we too can look this literature into the eye without embarrassment and without becoming excited--as one of the unpleasant peculiarities of prehistory.

LEADERS OF YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS INTERVIEWED

Interview With Sawic

Warsaw STUDENT in Polish 5-18 Nov 81 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Tadeusz Sawic, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] by Waldemar Janda; date and place not given]

[Question] In the face of the experiences of the 1970's, does the student movement have a chance today to be a vital social force?

[Answer] In light of the 1970's, all that may be said is that there was a potential chance. A practical opportunity opened up for us, as it did for the student movement, only after the workers' protest, when we saw that it was possible to join together to create a force of protest. But at that time we did not make use of this opportunity, and I do not think that student organizations and the student community could have protested with success at that time. I think that this has been determined by history, because of the barrier which has been set up between workers and students. It was only the August protest which allowed us to believe that we, too, can be useful for something. What's more, it enabled us to become fully aware of the fact that our thinking is very similar.

[Question] What kinds of reactions did [the events of] August trigger in the organization?

[Answer] In our reactions, there was definitely something that was particularly catastrophic. This was not because we had to deny what we were doing at the time, but because did not have enough power to voice our anxiety and get results.

[Question] What forces served to weaken the organization? What was the basic reason that the SZSP was not the organization the students wanted it to be?

[Answer] The main reason was--and let us be honest about this--that the SZSP acted as a conveyor belt, a buffer between the authorities and the community. In trying to explain to students many phenomena from the sphere of political and social life, phenomena which, in fact, we ourselves did not understand, we lost any sort of opportunity for credibility within the academic community.

[Question] In other words, the SZSP was used to convincing the community that the authorities were infallible, that what they were doing was right...

[Answer] Yes, although there were also clashes with the representatives of authority. However, no practical conclusions were drawn from our criticism. Unfortunately, this information rarely became generally known.

[Question] The fact that the organization was used by the authorities to impose their will upon students discredited it. At the same time, however, another mechanism was in operation. The SZSP was a platform for reaching the authorities.

[Answer] This is an enormous exaggeration, a myth with which it is now worthwhile to take issue. The possibility did exist for individuals. But it should likewise be said that the authorities did not trust us. The SZSP was also--and this was, I believe, the organization's way of defending itself--a forum for the existence of controversial views. Perhaps these views did not become known on the outside. We were dealing with a phenomenon which characterized social and political life--a certain dualism. On the one hand, there was the official set of the "wise and healthy" SZSP which unequivocally supported the authorities, while on the other there was the set of the "doubting and uncertain." This is also why I think that to say today that the SZSP was a channel for reaching the authorities is an oversimplification. If we look today at all the social and political forces, we can find those which have clashed with the SZSP everywhere. Despite everything, authentic artistic and intellectual values have developed here in many autonomous clubs and branches. These values have preserved their specific character and have defended themselves against deviations.

[Question] Many of those who had doubts about unconventional views accidentally found their way into the organization, or entered in defiance of it.

[Answer] Too many people say this. The organization was aware of this differentiation of views from within.

[Question] Often this awareness was the cause of the fear of those who led the SZSP.

[Answer] Yes, often it was. But this fear took two directions. For some, it was the fear before one's decedents, while for others it was more and more the fear of what was setting in, the fear of the spectre of the nation's collapse.

[Question] The onset of the SZSP's regeneration occurred at a meeting of the aktiv in Uniejow in September 1980.

[Answer] Yes, for the SZSP Uniejow was a basic turning point in the organization's transformation and in the change in its aktiv. The program which we adopted at that time, a program of subjective participation in history, did not provide us, however, with the guarantee of success. There continued to exist within the community the belief that it was merely a temporary turn. Moreover, what is being said and who it is that is speaking was, and still is, important. It is a problem of SZSP credibility, which is a problem for every movement which has lived through [the events of] August and a problem which existed in the past under the old structures.

[Question] Of what did the changes in the SZSP consist?

[Answer] The organization decided to articulate in an independent manner the problems of that part of the community which it represented. Until this time it has been searching for its identity, its program. This program has been shaped by the rank-and-file movement which has arisen in the SZSP. The negative mechanism of the SZSP's being a conveyor belt between the authorities and the community has been cast off. Since August [1980], through the third congress and its current activity, we may speak of a liberated SZSP. We may speak of an organization which boldly determines and expresses all of the problems and views which prey upon its members.

[Question] In your opinion, how should the organization evolve, if it is agreed that it is to evolve?

[Answer] The discussion over the concept of the organization continues. We have adopted a broad formula for the independent political organization of the academic community, which we have put into statutory form, while preserving everything which is connected with the sphere of union activity.

[Question] The SZSP today appears to be a very diversified organization from the viewpoint of the views of its members. Some even charge it with vagueness and ideological muddiness. It is possible to state what view is held in common by the majority of SZSP members? Is there any ideological community?

[Answer] I would hesitate to speak unequivocally of an ideological community within the SZSP. I think that this common ground lies in seeking. We may rather speak of the existence of a political community.

[Question] Which means?

[Answer] Which means that the various groups within the SZSP take various positions with regard to reality. But the major trend, if you will excuse a hackneyed phrase, is the line of understanding and dialogue.

[Question] Of understanding and dialogue between whom?

[Answer] Among all prosocialist forces. The attempt to define an ideological canon within the SZSP itself is premature. It is a process; there is a need for understanding within the SZSP itself.

[Question] However, there are various groups in existence with a specific enough ideological program.

[Answer] Yes, on the one hand there is the group which aims to politicize the organization on the basis of the Marxist platform; on the other, there is the socializing group which wishes to combine the political formula of the organization with the union formula. The discussion between these views recurs again and again. It is difficult, however, to predict which current will prevail. Today they are clearly polarized.

[Question] Is the SZSP threatened with a split?

[Answer] I don't think so, since, as has been demonstrated during a great many critical moments, the SZSP has managed to come to an agreement from within. Those groups making up the organization have managed to limit themselves. I do not know whether, in perspective, it will be a process at the end of which a clash, a split will occur, however.

[Question] And how do you evaluate the effect of the SZSP on the community?

[Answer] If we are to propose such a basic criterion as the criterion of sympathy within and outside of the community, then in our case it is always too little. The SZSP must win people's sympathy. If, however, we are to speak of actual influence upon what is happening in the academic community, then what is needed to be able to evaluate this is another test after the test of the Lodz strikes. Of course, I am not inciting anything. But otherwise it is difficult to determine its importance. In my estimation, this influence is increasing. My optimism issues from the fact that for a long time the SZSP image was built by negotiation, in spite of efforts to seek a new image. Today, after all of those transformations--which were not always satisfactory--we are different. It is important that new people are creating this new quality. The paradoxical shift of the SZSP into the opposition camp in higher schools likewise changes our situation. Consequently, our influence is probably identified with the magnitude of the organization, with the number of its members.

[Question] The SZSP, however, has not abandoned its privileged position within the student community. It still controls a number of institutions (e.g., ALMATUR [Office of Travel and Tourism], clubs) which, although serving the entire student community, nonetheless lead to the suspicion of an organization with a monopoly on activity in the student community. This causes a lack of credibility in it.

[Answer] You say that the SZSP occupies a privileged position today. I think that this is not at all the case. We have various types of institutions, but I see no justification whatsoever for our losing them. In the first place, they serve the entire academic community without exception; secondly, we have a natural right to them, since we participated in their development and they are our property. Nor is this a privileged position, for in this way we have found ourselves likewise under the control of newly arisen organizations and under the pressure of the entire community as well.

[Question] Then is cooperation possible between organizations? For, although ideas of a self-governing body have been alive in schools for a long time, self-governing bodies arise first in factories, not in schools.

[Answer] The hopes which students have placed in the student movement renewal have not been fully realized. In its new organizational form, the community has felt better because it has had the chance to have its real divisions reflected. These have always existed and now they have been realized in organizational pluralism. At the same time, students have felt that they can do something, that they are more significant. And what happened? I do not wish to return to the

thesis (one with which I disagree) that we are to present ourselves as a whole, and that this will give us greater power. The apparent unity of the student movement has been founded on this thesis. It is an illusion. Today we are faced with the dilemma of mutual understanding. Unfortunately, the inertia of the community is also a fact. A large part of it--this is merely an observation, not an accusation--stands on the sidelines. This does not mean that it is not involved. But this model, this proposal of a student organization does not suit everyone.

[Question] Does the creation of a self-governing body not lead to its assumption of the sphere of union activities which are now the domain of existing organizations?

[Answer] Perhaps the self-governing body will create a new image for the student movement. It will be the catalyst of transformations of all organizations. At the same time, a year of experience, unfortunately, has not indicated this. There is the danger that self-government will become a forum for the political battle between organizations, which is both a useless function and can in general frustrate the idea of the self-governing body.

[Question] And on what issues are mutual consultation in the forum of the self-governing body and joint action necessary today?

[Answer] Of greatest importance is the issue of the higher school system. We cannot waste the opportunity for the independence and democratization of the school. Today it is possible for us to implement our ideas about its form. The self-governing body is the place for disputing and polemicizing, but also for seeking out a community of ideas. Instead, the whole discussion has shifted into the political sphere, and while the school system is not independent of this sphere, the whole struggle is unprofitable both because it is a battle over the government of minds and because it is a struggle over trifles.

[Question] Nonetheless, the situation within the community is changing. There are more and more partners for consultation. ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] circles are arising in the school...

[Answer] With what sort of ideology! With what!

[Question] Socialist, leftist.

[Answer] But this does not mean that the SZSP, in searching for a program, is distancing itself from leftist views. It is merely a question of the definition of the left.

[Question] Isn't it true that the SZSP is the only organization which wants to have people of various viewpoints within its ranks? The ZSMP is markedly specific, as are the KZMP [Communist Union of Polish Youth] and the ZMD [Union of Democratic Youth], the NZS [Independent Association of Students] is decidedly in favor of...

[Answer] Of what?

[Question] They are opposed to the method of exercising authority.

[Answer] But that is no program. It is a continual concept of negation. To return to the ZMP, it enters the school without any sort of ideology. For isn't it true that promises a job after studies are completed and patron housing. Its method is says the carrot-and-stick method. If only the ZMP proposed the idea of joining the young intelligentsia with the working class...So I do not see any reason for the SZSP to have a complex for its lack of specificity.

[Question] But it is alleged that the SZSP's shallowness renders the setting up of powers within the student community impossible, because it wants to seize everything for itself, even though it is unable to come to terms with itself.

[Answer] Every new movement adopts the principle that it will climb up upon the mistakes and on the necks of those who are already embedded within the community. The SZSP has been so embedded. It is merely a clever trick today to suspect us of shallowness while not perceiving one's own shallowness. For me, only the KZMP is specific enough. But on the other hand, is the KZMP in a position to serve the broader aspirations of the community, or only the needs of those who have taken an unequivocal stand in their favor? I do not know whether the SZSP is in this position, but we are openly searching and we are not ashamed to admit our shortcomings. The NZS, in my opinion, is likewise an eclectic organization.

[Question] The NZS brings together people of very varied ideological orientations, but its political orientation is clearly defined: it is the ally of [NSZZ] Solidarity, "the opponent of whatever is old," which includes the SZSP. NZS operatives say that on one side of the barricade is the association representing the general student population, and on the other side, the government and the SZSP.

[Answer] That is an oversimplification! I am not jealous of the illustrious position of our NZS colleagues, who define themselves as opposed to everything that should be destroyed. It is a very attractive position, which can unite many people. But what sort of permanence can such a basis for unity have? The SZSP is not in principle a progovernment organization, unperceiving of the mistakes of the authorities. It is continually defined in this way because it is convenient to say that the government and the SZSP stand in one house. With the broadening of the government platform, it will be more difficult to determine whether someone is progovernment or antigovernment, because the criteria for setting up the division will have to break down. This will come about when the government begins to represent the majority of the Polish people.

[Question] You spoke of a test which would be necessary to evaluate the organization's popularity. In an earlier such test, during the Lodz strikes, the SZSP was blamed for hampering the strikes, for countering them. This did not add to the SZSP's popularity.

[Answer] Nonsense. To say that would be like saying today that the NZS called those strikes. The SZSP neither hampered them, nor did the NZS call them. The strikes were the result of the objective development of the situation in the student community. They were a reply to the resounding problems of higher education which had not been resolved by the government, and in particular by the Ministry of

Higher Education. In spite of our protests. Of course, the NZS had the advantage of being a new force. It was a new thing in the company of other new things. Thus the association: the SZSP as a conservative, oppositional force and the NZS as a progressive, restitutive force. That was too simple.

[Question] But the SZSP's approach to the strikes was considerably more severe; it counted on the success of negotiations.

[Answer] We wished to avoid confrontation with other social groups at any price. The fact that this was not a mistake has now been confirmed. The danger of confrontation was there, we should not forget this. We were opposed to drastic measures, although we accepted the strike as the ultimate form of struggle. At the time, the strikes were, in fact, an indispensable form of action. This was the fault of the authorities. To return to the division into progressive and conservatives--I think that the dividing line is not between the NZS and the SZSP, but primarily between NSZZ Solidarity and the party. This line is found within each of these organizations.

[Question] If this is so, then why is there not the transformation of these organizations into new organizations reflecting these divisions?

[Answer] And who would want to unite under a banner of conservatism?

[Question] In its program documents, the PZPR refers exclusively to socialist unions of youth. In this way it passes over the existence of other organizations. But the members of these organizations represent a large part of the community. What is your position on this question?

[Answer] That is something for the party itself to decide.

[Question] In other words, you believe that the policy of the party with regard to the student movement is its affair and that the SZSP will not present its position?

[Answer] The SZSP has declared many times that it is for a very broad platform of cooperation. We bear out this statement. The party commits itself to cooperation with all those who are not opposed to it. If I were to speak my mind to the PZPR and to suggest something to them, I think that the platform of cooperation with the youth movement should be broader. It is not feasible today to limit the youth movement to four loyal organizations. The youth movement's view of the problems of young people is already in a state of misunderstanding, to say nothing of their problems viewed solely and exclusively by several of many existing organizations. The party should decide in favor of broader dialogue with the youth. I believe that the current PZPR position issues from the fact that unions cooperating with the party are attacked by other organizations. Hence the party's dilemma--will its opening itself up to others be treated as a vote of no confidence in its current partners? This is likewise a problem for the new trade union movement. To whom should it open itself up among the youth, should it be open solely and exclusively to those who unequivocally declare their full support or should it also decide to cooperate with those who think somewhat differently, which does not mean that they are opponents?

[Question] Does the SZSP have official contacts with the [NSZZ] Independent Self-governing Trade Union Solidarity?

[Answer] We have contact with them in the schools, but not on a central scale. This does not mean that we are opposed to such contact. On the contrary--we are in favor of such cooperation. We do not intend to forego it. We have natural possibilities for cooperation with NSZZ Solidarity and the ZNP [Polish Teachers Union], since with reference to schools there is, perhaps, a community of interests and methods in the approach to the self-governing higher school. We also have working students within our ranks, and contact through them with unions is a very natural thing. This also makes possible our reaching out beyond the student ghetto, the mechanisms of which are always very destructive to the community and its organizations. Contacts with NSZZ Solidarity are complicated by the tendency to compartmentalize--these are good, those are bad. Such is the manner of association. This is a tremendous oversimplification. Many of us would like to avail ourselves of the possibility of evaluating reality in exclusive black and white terms. But our vision must be more complex than that, based on a penetrating view, moderately objective, of what surrounds us. This takes time.

[Question] But that is just a step away from saying that time will resolve everything, and our activities and activism will rise to another plane.

[Answer] No, I do not wish to be understood to say that history rushes me along, although I often feel that way. I would rather that it be we--and this may likewise refer to the SZSP--who moved history. I am a firm believer in Norwid's wise saying that "It is not God who sets up a threshold for people, but people who set it up for themselves."

Interview with Guzy

Warsaw STUDENT in Polish 5-18 Nov 81 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Jaroslaw Guzy, chairman of the National Coordination Commission [KKK] of the Independent Association of Students [NZS] by Wojciech Borek; date and place not given]

[Question] Let us begin with the basics, i.e., with a characterization of the NZS. I would like you to start by trying to define the ideological place of the community of association members.

[Answer] It is an organization which arose under special conditions and its ideology has not been defined precisely and put into writing. What is the reason for this? The NZS came into existence after August [1980] based on principles similar to those that served as the basis for [NSZZ] Solidarity, only within the student movement. Of course, it does not have the character of a trade union, because there is a completely different system of community needs. The NZS is trying to construct an operational model in which the union portion does not enter the foreground to the detriment of that activity which issues from motives such as those which guided the founders of the organization. Hence an ideology which has issued from the need for restitution, in the name of society, of those rights which have been taken away from it by the authorities during the entire 35-year

period. This is our basic ideology, evident in our every move. It is that which binds us: the restriction of the rights of the academic community, of civil rights is always extolled in our program.

[Question] We are entering a sphere which invites controversy. The NZS defines itself as an apolitical organization. On the other hand, if you say that the sphere of union activities is secondary then what, if not politics, is primary?

[Answer] No. I do not remember any political NZS actions. It is a question of the definition of "apoliticism" and a definition of politics in general. We do not concur with that definition of politics which is advanced, for example, by the journalists of TRYBUNA LUDU or ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, or the theoreticians of the WSNS [Higher School of Social Sciences] (not all!). Hence the controversy. In my opinion, there should be no such controversies. We are not conducting political activity. We are conducting an activity which is viewed as political by the authorities. But the authorities would like to see everything as political, and, consequently, reserved for their own jurisdiction. We cannot agree with this; hence the constant conflicts. I don't know whether you agree with the concept of politics as expounded by the authorities, but I do not agree with that concept.

[Question] For me, the definition of something as political or apolitical is of less significance than content. A defensive attitude underlies both politicism as you have described it and apoliticism. Just as someone may be attacked for their "politicism," they may also be attacked for their "apoliticism."

[Answer] Yes, of course. In other words, to state it clearly: The NZS is not evading all issues which are of interest to students. On the other hand, the organization has clearly offered proof of the fact that it is not entering directly into the sphere of politics (in this case the sphere of politics is activity leading to the acquisition of authority). The NZS will not submit a register of voters in the coming elections to the people's councils. This does not mean that it will not act in the name of reforming electoral law. But such action is not political activity; it is normal social activism in the name of restoring political rights to society. And here accusations of politicism may occur.

[Question] The question of the pluralism of attitudes within organizations is closely linked with politicism. Within the NZS, a whole spectrum of views and world views exists. In this context, I would like to ask about the origins of the association. What is the tradition closest to yours, and in what direction do you intend to continue it?

[Answer] Our tradition is quite clearcut and concrete. The KZS Congress referred back to the traditions of the SKS [Student Solidarity Committee]. Hence the pluralistic formula of the independent student organization. We do not aim to transform ourselves into an organization which would not permit a student with definite political views to become a member. There is no formal reason for a PZPR student member not to sign up in our organization. We do not wish to be exclusive within the community. In conjunction with this, there were discussions concerning an ideological declaration at the congress, i.e., whether to adopt one in general. The possibility of limiting the open formula of our organization was

feared. Of course, certain statutory formulations already impose an ideology, but it is an ideology which is so open and universal that, in fact, it closes the door to no one.

[Question] Does not the openness of your ideology mean a lack of ideology? Was the fact that you did not adopt an ideological declaration not something of a retreat from obstacles?

[Answer] No. We ascertained that the community was not yet mature due to a lack of more serious discussion of the subject. This does not mean that at the next congress, which is to be held in Wroclaw in December, we will not adopt such a declaration. In any event, among those who are discussing such an eventual declaration, there are no adherents of the idea to diminish the pluralism declared by the NZS. Thus, even if we do adopt some sort of ideological declaration, it will likewise be very universal.

[Question] If I remember correctly, two concepts collided at the congress, conventionally known as "Warsaw socialism" and the "Christian Democratic" concept.

[Answer] There were many blunders in that discussion. These two declarations functioned on various planes, complementing one another. One, the Warsaw declaration, referred back to the democratic opposition and independent student movements from the 1970's, while the second referred to much more deeply rooted traditions. But to define the latter as Christian Democratic or National Democratic is unwarranted. We may, perhaps, quarrel with certain elements of phraseology, but it is not an unequivocal issue even for experts on the subject. With regard to the contents therein, in my opinion they have not violated the pluralism which we have declared.

[Question] Is the association not threatened with a split because of its announced pluralism and strong decentralization?

[Answer] I do not think so, for one reason. In such a political system as we function, under this system of authority, it is an obvious fact that all independent activities should be activities of solidarity. It is no accident that the independent trade union is called Solidarity. We must be close-knit. I do not perceive decentralizing tendencies. Even if they do appear--and that is normal, because there are always differences within a pluralistic model--the external system reminds us that we must act jointly.

[Question] Let us continue for a moment on the subject of pluralism. How does one reconcile the close ties with the church with pluralism?

[Answer] Like the whole of our society, we are rooted in a certain tradition, in which the church is the unchallenged moral authority. Hence, as an institution which has never lost its independence, which has helped foster the preservation of an enclave of life not under the dominion of the authorities, it is close to us. Our visit to the primate had the characteristics of a symbol. It was not a visit of the faithful to the head of the church...

[Question] A propos, are you a Catholic?

[Answer] I am, but not the kind that would please every pastor. What is important in the church for us is the universal qualities to which the church appeals more and more in contemporary society. I have not observed any conflict in the direct activity of the believers and the nonbelievers among us.

[Question] And what is the nature of the association's ties with [NSZZ] Solidarity?

[Answer] There are no formal ties. We are really an independent organization, and our contacts with Solidarity issue merely from our and their goodwill. It is a dual sort of contact with the entire union and with the elements in the academic community. These contacts, which had been more or less sporadic, now augur of greater steadfastness. By virtue of a resolution adopted at the congress, the newly elected union authorities are obliged to conclude an agreement on cooperation with us. This agreement will guarantee such things as the settlement of the problem of graduates, who will thus be protected by the union.

[Question] Let us devote a few words to independence. At the First NRZ Congress, the dominant trend was one which led to being shut off and to the psychosis of the beleaguered fortress. It was said: independence above all. But this cuts off the possibility of constructive action.

[Answer] I did not notice that we had concentrated our attention on our independence. Rather, if we are to speak of the hermeticism of our community, it is hermetic in the face of the moves of the authorities, who would like to subject the community in some way to themselves. And here, of course, the term "beleaguered fortress" is justified. In what way were we shut off--to ideas, to people? I think that this was your subjective feeling.

[Question] Yes, but it was this very atmosphere which led to soft-pedaling the issue of student self-government. Centers where the NZS felt itself threatened feared the self-governments.

[Answer] I would interpret this situation differently. Gdansk and Wroclaw quarreled over the subject of the self-governing body. Local experiences in these centers were diametrically opposed. It was not without reason that Wroclaw was afraid that a self-governing body appointed from above as the "only representative" of the community would menace NZS interests. In a passive community, the self-government is a body which is easy to suppress. School authorities, ill-disposed to the NZS, at Lodz University, for example, aim at appointing a self-governing body to make life easy for themselves.

[Question] But similar fears undercut the idea of the self-governing body per se.

[Answer] No, they do not. We discussed the idea of the self-governing body with our Wroclaw colleagues and we were in agreement on many fundamental questions. Later, at the congress, more thorough discussion was lacking. The discussion was fairly one-sided, without rejoinder. Hence, to an outside observer, the self-governing body might have appeared to be an enemy of the NZS or an unwillingly accepted alternative. For the interim, people wish to determine the form of the self-governing body when they feel it is needed.

[Question] Program discussion was also lacking at the congress. The only association program for the present is, to the observer's eyes, a program of immediate opposition and demand. You are joined together, for example, by the issue of political prisoners. This seems to be too little. An association should work out a constructive program.

[Answer] This is a reproach with reference to the congress. But the congress consisted of 3 days filled to the brim and not preceded by discussion. The NZS came into being independent of itself at many academic institutions, and its first actions, as well as its initial program declarations were extremely convergent.

[Question] Yes, it was easy in the various centers to become integrated with regard to what was unsatisfactory, to what was obviously to be questioned. I am concerned about the manner of entering the second phase, when it comes.

[Answer] We do anticipate entering the second phase. Hence the call for a second congress to be held as soon as possible, in order to work out a program of action. In advance, we envisage that it will be a program congress. We want to be well prepared in order to guard against running amok procedurally, which would bungle any attempts at merritorious discussion.

[Question] What, in your opinion, will be the makeup of the program to be worked out there?

[Answer] I see it to be on two planes. The first plane is composed of academic matters, the second, general social matters. Here we go beyond certain models adopted for a student organization, because we try to have an effect on everything that is happening in the country, in accordance with the will of our members. To move to concrete issues: there are the matters of the progressive reform of the higher school system, recruitment for studies and teaching programs. At the same time let us remember that in our decentralized structure most issues are left up to the schools, and if possible they are left up to faculties. The reason for that is so that certain things would be done by the people who are directly interested in them. Next, the issue of unemployed graduates and many others. Beyond this, the NZS aspires to continue to be an organization which acts in the name of democratic changes in the country. Here the program is intuitively perceptible. Our demands do not boil down to obtaining the release of those several persons from the leadership of the KPN [Confederation for Independent Poland] who are still under arrest, but amount to ensuring that the system of abiding by law and order does not permit the imprisonment of people for their convictions.

[Question] I understand that this intuitive program of the NZS was implemented during the course of the year of the association's existence. What is the balance sheet for these activities? What have you done for the community, what can you be proud of?

[Answer] Our accomplishments have been many, although they are not enough, and they have certainly not been summed up. I will speak of the examples I know best, i.e., from the bailiwick of the Jagellonian University [UJ]. Initially, the NZS completely took the initiative in such matters as programs of study. The

opposition to the forms of teaching ideological subjects and to the Russian-language course was most spectacular. The NZS began to be concerned over the quality and the level of studies. At the UJ all of this was conducted more or less without conflict because the school authorities were well disposed. In Lodz, however, the problems began at the level of the academic institution, since the demands which the school authorities were in a position to fulfill were not implemented.

[Question] This was the reason for the student strike, which led to later understandings.

[Answer] Yes. A paradoxical situation ensued in which there were some Lodz demands which had already been resolved in Krakow in the fall of the preceding year. In Lodz, the NZS was not as strong as it was in other centers, but it was immediately evident who had written the demands and who took the initiative in supporting these demands and in discussion. In view of the SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students] position during the strike, the idea of the Student Unity Committee [SKJ] collapsed. The SKJ turned out to be a sham union of the student community, which is not uniform where organizations are concerned. The SZSP is not our partner and because of this we cannot work in cooperation with it. It is an organization which has not changed in practice since the time that SZSP operatives were ceremonially awarded party membership cards--an organization compromised in the past.

[Question] You express your resentment of the SZSP, resentment which was vehemently stressed at the NZS congress. The tone of the third SZSP Congress was similar. Emotions ruled the day in both cases. For the present, the academic community is socially unified, the interests of all students are held in common. Despite this, differences in the plan of organization take on a radical character.

[Answer] You speak of the common interests of students which both organizations should implement. But the SZSP did not implement the interests of students! Let's not kid ourselves. And if they did implement them, then they did so to the extent that decisionmaking factors made this possible, not forgetting their own privileges. It is not so that the government is on one side and that we and the SZSP are on the other. No, we are on one side together with the students for there is no other organization which attempts to represent student interests before the authorities, and the government and the SZSP are on the other side. During the strikes the SZSP was used, in fact, to liquidate them.

[Question] But there are such matters as the recent changes in the draft law on higher schools, on which both organizations take a similar position.

[Answer] Verbal protests mean little. The storm has quieted, but certain subtle changes have been wrought and it will be interesting to note the SZSP's position when the law is passed. I suspect it will be more or less in line with the official view. A situation may occur, however, which will surprise me, although it is the desirable one, i.e., that our views will be united.

[Question] Are you aware that you represent the better students?

[Answer] No, we represent all students. Our members are not better, they are more active. We commit ourselves to act in the name of the entire community, and when that community holds us in poor esteem, we will not have the effect we now have.

[Question] In your estimation, is the influence of the NZS in the community greater than the influence of the SZSP?

[Answer] In my estimation, yes. It depends what we mean by influence. You may say: you do not organize tourist excursions abroad and the percentages are unmistakably clear. But is everyone who tours with ALMATUR [Office of Travel and Tourism] an SZSP devotee? Let's not pretend that this is so.

[Question] And what do you propose in the place of tourist attractions to people who wish to enter the association?

[Answer] If someone becomes a member of the NZS, he has the right to advance his own ideas and no one will impose anything on him. He himself may conceive those projects which he wishes to see implemented by the NZS. This is a basic matter. The organization is whatever the members make of it, and if a given person enters the NZS then he, too, will leave his mark upon our joint action.

8536
CSO: 2600/114

CREATION OF NEW YOUTH FEDERATION REPORTED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 28 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Katarzyna Zaczkiewicz]

[Text] The Independent Youth Front, the Committee of the Polish Youth Union (ZMP), the Council of Self-Governing Body Cooperation, the School Youth Movement, the Communist Union of Polish Youth, the Student Renewal Movement, the Independent Student Union. After August school centers teemed with those fervently desiring to support organizational renovation. This in spite of widespread conviction about the passivity, lack of ideals and consumer attitude of the young toward life.

Teachers, school directors marvelled; in school superintendent's offices--consternation. Educators had no idea how to react to such unprecedented activity. However, in the majority of cases they looked at it with suspicion, because slogans proposed by students, particularly the most general ones, free expression of political opinions of striving for truth, seemed to have been realized long ago, so the educators were surprised by their revindication. Well, what was talked about at school heretofore?

Dynamite Without Label

Here and there, a sloppily printed paper, barely holding together with one staple or a clip, could be found under the bench. Such papers have been disturbing for quite a time--however, one has got used to them. Now, 1 year after the beginning of the renewal in the country, exactly on 12 and 13 September, small students' organizations, not linked with each other, assumed an institutionalized form and created in Gdansk a National Founding Committee (OKZ) of the Independent Federation of School Youth (NFMS). Some 150 students from high schools (mostly general high school students) agreed on a small-size program comprising 16 items.

Program presidium has been elected and its task established as of an executive organ. The federation set for itself very general objectives, which one could call as vague, and large, like fundamental law records (for example establishing communal education). Only half of the program's items concerned directly

the school and the organization of the educational program, which was international. "We refuse to have our eyes and ears closed, and not only at school"-- said the deputy chairman Tomasz Sokolewicz from the J. Rej High School in Warsaw. "The question is to have an efficient flow of information, of objective learning, in other words--a restructuring of the school system."

Point 1 of the program advocates values which are indisputable and not contrary to the socially accepted system--patriotism, tolerance, personal freedom, truth, while the already existing social and political organizations add such values as peace and justice to the list. Sixteen and 17 year-olds fortunately do not know anything about war from their personal experience, nor can their imagination reach that far. And as concerns justice or social equality which the members of the NFMS mentioned--they are to be covered by the word freedom. A free and tolerant person--as they see--will undoubtedly strive for justice.

Education and individuality--self-education, control of the program of instruction and an active role in the school life--occupy a leading place in the program. The federation does not define itself politically, which does not mean that its members are neglecting to raise their political awareness (point 4), by organizing circles of self-education, forming "networks of independent periodicals" and "independent student libraries." They aim at "objectivization of humanities in teaching programs," "making possible the observance of certain anniversaries, which would be acknowledged by the federation as worthy."

They are aware of their influence on what occurs or what will take place at the school, and I suspect that after reading the program goals of the federation, a number of teachers will have doubts whether these young people are not planning to replace us in the process of education and management of educational institutions?

And so, the members of the federation aim to "achieve student's participation in pedagogical councils" and not only with the right to express their opinion on excursions, contributions and fees, amusements, but also with the right to vote on the subject of students' qualifications! But what is more, they demand student representation during the admission examinations to high schools.

The way of admitting additional places and preferences are, so far, an impenetrable charade shrouded in strictest secrecy. It may be worthwhile to attempt to dissipate charges of the arbitrariness in grading and favoritism. But what will happen with the authority of educators, the secrecy of deliberations of the pedagogical council, ensured by the school statute and school discipline? Which school superintendent's office will agree to the anarchism of education? It looks as if the defendants intend to occupy the places of jurors.

"We don't want to take over the role of the ZNP members"--they say--"we wish to become joint managers" and not school managers with full rights. However, with such a bold program this word "joint" does not surface, it vanishes in the abysmal depth of the sea of competence, which those federalists are demanding.

A question also arises, how can these ambitions be realized, what is and what will the reactions be?

The Reaction of the Environment

"What is a teacher's opinion--such is his reaction." Members of the Polish Teachers Union (ZNP) treat with hostility any type of organization with the adjective "independent." As Marzena Duszynska, a member of the federation, comments, school superintendents try to "ditch" the activity of the organization and to explain that they understand the nature of the school differently. The important problem is that the student will study, change his clogs and look neatly and decently.

School directors do not declare themselves openly against students' organizations, but consider that "something like that" does not fit in the school. This "something" (the word "organization" is carefully avoided), the so-called school periodical, for example WOLNA TRYBUNA. At the Batory General High School in Warsaw this periodical had to be submitted to the school director's censorship prior to distribution to students. WOLNA TRYBUNA does not exist anymore, but at a place where it is difficult to take it down, an indecent paper hangs. Sometimes the school director calls an "activist" in for a talk and asks in a friendly way: "What is going on in your head, would it not be better to join in a circle of true interest?" The deputy chairman of the federation, Tomek, had to change schools because he was accused of belonging to the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN). At the PAX High School in Warsaw the spokesman of OKZ was advised by a lady professor that he better not try to join the school self-governing body.

But the movement has not been "ditched" everywhere. Certain teachers are simply delighted that, at last, young people want to do something and take active part in lessons of civic upbringing which, until now, were boring and colorless and to give reports on interesting historical subjects, research source materials and search for the truth. In 46 general high schools in Warsaw, history textbooks for the fourth grade were put aside and the students turned to publications of the independent union "Solidarity" and set up school libraries as well.

Plans for the Future

The federation has spokesmen in 18 Polish towns starting with Male Gluszyce, to Lignica, Inowroclaw, Jastrzebie to Gdansk and in the capital. These spokesmen serve as contacts between the regions. They supply information to anybody who is interested, transmit to their members federation resolutions and programs. Similarly to "adult" organizations, they use the help of experts--most often university professors, particularly during the organization of "self-educational lectures."

Founding committees are soon to be merged in a general regional meeting of the region, by 14 November democratic elections for the National Congress are planned, which will work out a program and tasks for the federation. An extended and detailed program will result from an analysis of requirements supplied by separate regions.

The basic aim of the Founding Committee is to attain as soon as possible licensing of the federation. However, if the licensing should meet with serious difficulties from the authorities--the members of the union would not hesitate to stage protests, the form and place of which have not as yet been defined by OKZ.

In general, the Federation of School Youth has not explained many of its plans. However, the unprecedented dynamism of the programs and the fight to obtain or to gain individual recognition for the school at this time creates embarrassment to educational authorities, and yet it should lead to the formulation of a clear position. The rise of an independent school organization may be treated as a childish tomfoolery, passed over in silence, not noticed. However, it is known from experience, that practice of seeming or factual nonengagement, based on the principle "let's wait, somebody will get bored with it"--under today's realities, will be undermined by tension and prove incorrect.

For several months youth weeklies have been described as activities of independent organizations. However, no official response has been heard. And teachers are waiting, because--so-far--they don't know how to react. Who does or doesn't play his game at the expense of, or with the help of young people? As a matter of fact, what is it all about? Demands of self-government seem to be valid, this is the aim of the social renewal, but political problems are provoking and they are unclear. There has never been anything like this in the school history. It may be proper, as long as it is not too late to undertake an essential discussion with the young people who after all, sometimes think, evaluate, criticize independently, and consistently demand changes.

9481
CSO: 2600/107

YUGOSLAVIA

PRISTINA TELECAST ON TEXTBOOKS CRITICIZED

Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES in Serbo-Croatian 6 Nov 81 p 12

[Article by Ljiljana Bulatovic, reporter for TV Belgrade: "As if Nothing Had Happened!"]

[Text] Why was there hardly one remark of any seriousness made on the content of the textbooks which have been used to teach youngsters in Kosovo?

Periodically, a program in the series "Do We Really Know One Another?" appears on television. The program involves the efforts of all TV centers. This time, 28 October of this year, the host was TV Pristina.

With good reason, the hosts chose the theme of the role of textbooks in familiarizing students with other republics and nationalities in our country. Keeping in mind the extent to which they were mentioned in analyses of the conditions for counterrevolution in Kosovo, it was natural to expect that this show would put an end to the critical analysis of textbooks in Kosovo.

However, by the content and the manner of dialogue of the hosts one was not really able to tell whether the program was recorded before the so-called "disagreeable events" in Kosovo or quite recently. The guests on the program were, for the most part, cast in the role of the audience in spite of their effort to talk truthfully about the general and particular problems of political textbooks published in our country.

The program cannot be quoted, but an unpleasant impression of it remains: people responsible for this problem in Kosovo and those who have been newly appointed did not find a single serious comment to make on the content of textbooks which have been used to teach and to educate dozens of generations of youngsters from Kosovo. Even the executive secretary of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of Kosovo, Rahman Dedaj, only posed a few questions which would generally be worth talking about, whether a little more attention should be given to Albanian writers and history in other republics and provinces, etc. He considered the most important problem in the publishing of textbooks to be "structural and conceptual," and he remarked that textbooks are still burdened with traditionalism, too much emphasis on history, and "sometimes nationalism."

Listening to him, it was hard to believe that an executive secretary of the League of Communists of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo feels the need to speak in this way about the role of textbooks in the mutual familiarization of Yugoslav children! And this after everything that the Yugoslav public has learned anyway about the content of textbooks which have been used to teach those thousands of youngsters who have loudly expressed such an anti-Yugoslav disposition!

To a remark by Comrade Midorag Bogicevic from Sarajevo that 80 percent of the writers in readers for elementary school in Kosovo are Albanian, the newly appointed director of the provincial enterprise for the publishing of textbooks began to count the names of Yugoslav writers in the readers just mentioned. The percentages he arrived at are not important. However, this was not the only tacit negative truth. To the questioning assertion of Comrade Bogicevic that surely Comrade Tito is represented in the proper manner in the histories and readers in the province as well as in all textbooks, the hosts tacitly agreed. It is even more difficult to forgive them for this. Either they are not acquainted with the facts or they do not wish to speak the truth.

Although the program was recorded in the month of July in Kosovo during conditions in which such large numbers of youngsters were placed under an irredentist banner, our TV crew was not able to come to a more complete understanding of the truth concerning the textbooks. Even when we were assured, for example, that there were no reprinted textbooks from Tirana, several days later some were seized in stores in Podujev.

It is not our intention to rub salt in the wounds of the Kosovo counterrevolution, but this article is a protest against the forgetfulness and the suppression which is again beginning to overcome us. For this reason we recall the speech of Tihomir Vlaskalic at a meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia on 6 May of this year: ..."It is not only a matter of textbooks which in an incomprehensible manner have a broad potential for the indoctrination of young people.

We must also purge and make difficult everything which produces a reactionary consciousness of dogmatic etatism and Albanian nationalism. We must free the young generation from the pressure of indoctrination and educate them in the spirit of equality and brotherhood and unity, in the spirit of Yugoslav socialistic patriotism."

Finally, in the Conclusions of the Central Committee of the LCY from a meeting on 7 May is this statement as it appears: "Considering the gravity of the situation in the university and in the secondary schools in Kosovo, it is necessary to carry out a critical analysis of the system of education, cadre policy, as well as of textbooks, above all from the ideological, political and pedagogic point of view."

The TV program lasted 45 minutes. This does not mean that any of these conclusions were touched upon. This is in keeping with the spirit of things when textbooks in Kosovo are in question--nothing was accomplished. The well-intentioned viewers were irritated to find out the truth about these textbooks and the measures taken to replace and change them. Periodically there has been a speech on this theme in different forums in Kosovo, but it does not have any connection with what happened that afternoon on the screen.

Finally, a couple of explanations: first of all, it is not customary for television reporters to criticize television programs in the newspaper. This is not the case here. This is a protest against the suppression of those little stumbling blocks which get in the way of realizing self-management socialistic relations in our country, especially those involved in the education of young people. At the same time, this is also the continuance of an intention to speak about things as they are, an intention which we expressed aloud after the counterrevolution in Kosovo, which in some forms continues there even today. This is also a protest against the news that Saban Biseni, the replaced director of Radio Pristina, has become an advisor in the main office of Radio-Television Pristina.

The second explanation is for the question, why in the EKSPRES? Because I value highly the view this paper took toward the events in Kosovo and because I believe in the consistency of its editorial policy.

9548
CSO: 2800/121

YUGOSLAVIA

QUESTION OF ONE VERSUS SEVERAL LC CANDIDATES DISCUSSED

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 13 Nov 81 p 11

(Article by Milivoje Tomasevic: "Elections and Cadre Policy")

[Text] It should not be the case that elections are the end of cadre policy in this period of the selection dilemma (one or more candidates). Many think that the harmony between the basic determinations of cadre policy and the practice of elections is seriously disturbed, that elections and cadre policy are even in irreconcilable conflict.

All agree on the main points, that no one dares to achieve a monopoly in cadre policy, and that this position in our society must be made more democratic. Nor is there any argument over the sovereign right of the citizen to have a say about those who influence his life, and therefore, he himself should choose the people in whom he will place his trust.

More Candidates for Every Position

The dilemma originates in the realization of cadre policy. Some people think that there should be more candidates on every list for every position. In favor of this opinion, one can cite Tito's words from a report at the 11th LCY Congress: "In the process of nomination and selection, for every position, even the most responsible, a greater number of candidates should compete; it is understood that they meet the established criteria. Then people will really be able to choose, according to their own judgment and decision, the best candidates, for whom they will extend genuine support...Attempts of individuals and groups to choose, concerning cadre policy and selection, people outside the election organs and bodies, or allegedly in their name, but in fact opposed to the principles and criteria of our cadre policy, must be prevented."

In spite of such a "platform" which is built into our basic documents in favor of the thesis concerning more candidates, examples can also be cited of inferior work of individual cadre coordinating bodies. These bodies, as was recently reported in the press, instead of directing cadre policy and worrying about respecting social criteria, sometimes directed their work at administrative appointment, and in this way practically held a monopoly in cadre policy.

Essence and Form

In practice, when only one candidate exists for each position, elections resemble voting to a greater extent than they do determination. When the voter votes only "for" or "against," then it is difficult really to regard this as being the same thing as the sovereign right of the citizen to choose for himself the one in whom he will put his trust.

The defenders of the thesis that more candidates than the number being chosen should not be placed on the cadre lists say that the essence (to choose the best) is more important than the form (the methods of the elections). They say that an emphasis on more candidates might cause more harm than good, might lead to factional and cliquish competition or even to the political division of citizens on demagogic and unprincipled bases. They recall that the emphasis on more candidates on the whole has led to sharp conflicts, factionalism along with the use of prohibited methods and dramatic outcomes.

It is useful, indeed, to remember, even in the extreme, how elections have been carried out until now. In the first postwar elections, there existed a unique alternative to the "blind ballot box." Anyone who was not "for" someone was given the opportunity (secretly) to drop their marker into the "opposition box." The Election Law of 1953 provided the opportunity to nominate more people than the number of positions for representatives of the federal and republic parliaments.

This was, however, too much of a temptation for people who did not have sufficient political experience and so many candidates were put into severe political struggles which for some groups and individuals brought more harm than good. Then began the search for an election process which would guarantee democracy and which would prevent undesirable conflicts.

The "Fatigue" of the Selection System

That this is no simple matter is demonstrated by the fact that the two extreme positions are defended with equal zeal and almost the same quality of argument. Indeed, there is no doubt that emphasizing only one candidate must not automatically mean that the proceedings are not democratic. In the same way, a formal selection procedure with more candidates on the list does not guarantee democracy.

Fortunately, one essential point cannot be disputed. It is the complex "fatigue" which is evident in the present selection system. That the selection proceedings are ripe for a change can be illustrated, on one hand, by the well-known lack of interest of the "base" (in the last delegate elections those people whose names were near the end of the list according to alphabetical order lost fairly regularly, regardless of their proven personal qualities) which can be interpreted as a form of protest. On the other hand, individuals in whose selection the "base" did not have a critical influence would have to feel a greater responsibility toward those who "pushed them through," like it or not, than toward those people who only voted for them officially and whose (official) representatives they are.

Therefore, there is no argument concerning the main problem--making cadre policy more democratic. The argument, however, lies in how this should be done. It is obvious that something in the lists and in the manner of selection must be changed. There are two reasons for this: everyone who is chosen (directors, delegates, officials) must be put into the position of being even more dependent on the electoral base, of being accountable to it, and on the basis of this accountability people can choose those they trust. At the same time, this is an altogether reliable way to force people who are elected to consider less their advancement and to struggle more for the policies and programs of the LCY. Only then will those who are chosen have the full support of the base. It remains, therefore, that in the preparations for the elections a way be found which would also provide for the corresponding national and class structure.

Finally, it should be said what is being particularly emphasized in meetings of the Commission for Organizational and Statutory Questions of the LCY, that the LCY, in the precongress period and in the elections which have already started in several republics, can stimulate others by its example, as it has done in the past.

The Key to Structure

To a remark that national, class, social, sexual, old-age and other aspects of structure cannot be provided by a secret vote involving more candidates, Branko Mikulic, at a meeting of the Commission for Organizational and Statutory Questions, responded:

"This can be easily created by a convention. For example, out of a group of clerks, the one who receives the most votes wins, out of a group of workers the one with the most votes also wins; however, the worker who wins may have even fewer votes than, for example, the clerk who lost."

9548
CSO: 2800/114

'WITCH-HUNT' CITED IN PRESS REPORTING ON RELIGION

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 28 Nov 81 SEDAM DANA p 14

[Article by Nenad Ivankovic: "Religious Affairs in a Counterproductive Cycle"]

[Text] A few days ago, responding to the question of Vatican Radio (a program in Croatian) as to what he thinks "about the recent attacks on our Ivan (Merc) in the domestic public press and would that perhaps hurt his process (for beatification)," Father Bozidar Nagy said: "You will perhaps be surprised if I say that not only will this not hurt, but it will be beneficial. This has given him a great deal of publicity, and now many people are interested in him who had never heard of him before. Numerous orders are coming in for his books and literature about him."

These remarks undoubtedly deserve a certain attention, since it is indeed true that there was no basis for all those adverse things uttered in recent months about Ivan Merc in a portion of our public press, and for that reason the "paper" campaign was actually counterproductive. It is certainly not our point that certain individuals or tendencies should not be written about solely because this could contribute to their popularity, but that what is said about them should be well founded and full responsibility should be borne for words uttered in public. And certainly this should be done when the reasons are good and sound.

Recently, however, opposed tendencies have been noted in certain of our newspapers (when it comes to the public issues of religion and the activity of the religious communities): ignorance and irresponsibility. As though, if we can so put it, people have become persuaded that no wrong can be done if blows are being struck against certain ecclesiastical values (and not uncommonly against religious values as well). What is more, they seem to believe that they will also receive public applause for this. Isn't there eloquent evidence of this in the fact that a portion of the press writes about these issues only from the angle of cases in which there has been a lack of restraint, while they are silent about a number of constructive facts, since supposedly they are not "attractive" enough? (Of course, there is in all this a certain amount of completely conscious raising of dust in "the yard next door" so as to "ensure" peace in one's own yard.)

Chimeric Criticism

And this unquestionably detracts from social policy in this area, since the impression is given that the representatives of these tendencies are at the same time exponents of official policy. So that instead of commitment to the fundamental achievements of this sociopolitical community being the actual line of demarcation (and then also the point of opposition and computation), by the logic of newspaper escapades of this kind, it appears at times that it is, for example, Ivan Merc.

And truly, should we allow Ivan Merc or any other unimportant person or fact to become our public touchstone? And allow some newsman (how absurd!) to publicly admonish the entire leadership of a republic on this basis for not having already put certain people on "slim rations"!

And finally, what is achieved by this "policy"? Father Bozidar Nagy concluded his guest appearance on Vatican Radio with these words: "Untruths of this kind, whose purpose is to manipulate an insufficiently informed reading public, not only offend the religious sentiments of citizens, but also arouse those who are not religious to ask themselves the justified question: "How much truth is there, then, in those other writings and attacks on the church and its people, which have unfortunately become more frequent in our press of late?" Of course, we do not intend to concern ourselves with the purport of Father Nagy's thought expressed in this way (though there are things which might be said), but we wish to call attention to the counterproductive nature of unscrupulous and chimeric social criticism, if the name at all applies to this kind of criticism.

One thing is certain: Ivan Merc will be used for a long time as a strong, so to put it, psychological argument in an attempt to defuse as well all that relevant and principled social criticism which has been uttered concerning certain tendencies within the church in recent months and which will continue to be relevant. At the same time, it will also be a welcome pretext for clericalistic circles to push a new (irrelevant, but equally dangerous for all that) differentiation (and for the sectarians to take it up), thus creating a new vicious cycle of unnecessary social tensions.

We have thus arrived at a point from which it is quite obvious where this crusade is leading. After all, one thing is certain: it does not lead toward a constructive relationship between, if we may so put it, Christianity and Marxism (of which the joint construction of socialism, this socialism which we have here and now, is a practical consequence), a relationship that would constitute a dialogue and those things which would make that dialogue possible, but leads toward a frontal collision and conflict. Which is exactly what is desired by the retrograde forces in both the church and in society. This is probably the only point on which they agree, as has been borne out by numerous examples.

The Constructive Forces

The dangers of this newspaper "witch-hunt" which has become current in the recent past are also manifested in this circumstance: that is, its protagonists, we believe, are nevertheless unaware of all these consequences. What is more,

we would say that they are actually giving evidence of their social "orthodoxy" and that in undertaking this kind of "involvement" they are "on the line." (Much like our university professor and public figure who, thinking probably that he was advocating a Marxist thesis, declared a few days ago that "religion is in and of itself based on fear of mysterious, unknown and invisible forces, on submission to them, and indeed on superstition"!??)

Which brings us to the next point: Should people be concerned with this problem area (and we, of course, are not confining ourselves to the field of journalism) who do not know a miter from a chasuble or a rosary from a pectoral. Or, on the other hand, should personnel be found who will know how to be responsible and well founded in their public activity.

Of course, we are aware that a mere knowledge of the subject matter is not everything, but still knowledge does free one of the prejudices of ignorance. Which is to say, to paraphrase Monseigneur Edelby, that it is not wise to honor with immediate condemnation every silly fool who utters something stupid.

These critical remarks are not, of course, aimed at suppressing or toning down socially justified and principled confrontation of and opposition to all the relevant and negative tendencies that emerge within the various religious communities and which will unquestionably be manifested for a long time yet. It is precisely out of an awareness of the latter fact that we appeal for a social criticism that will not, so to speak, destroy its own effectiveness by being maladroit, but will strengthen and follow up that effectiveness. We also believe that external criticism, however principled and "devastating," is still not sufficient, and that internal criticism should be "assisted." But we certainly will not achieve it unless we create social conditions which by their own particular logic will bring to the fore within the church itself those constructive forces which exist in it even today and which are neither small nor insignificant. After all, we should not forget that the church is a living organism which is not immune to the world around it and that often the internal balance of power is a kind of reflection of certain circumstances in society.

Nor, then, can it be a matter of indifference to us whether various participants in public affairs act responsibly and competently or contaminate public policy with their activity and discourage the constructive forces within the church.

7045
CSO: 2800/136

MISUSE OF EARTHQUAKE RELIEF FUNDS DESCRIBED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1610, 8 Nov 81 pp 19-20

[Article by Petar Ignja]

[Text] Yugoslav society has given 10 billion (old) dinars as aid to the stricken residents of Kursumlija opstina, who were hit by the Kopaonik earthquake. "The opstina fathers" divided up half the total among their unharmed friends.

Generally, the Kursumlija case is known to the public. Part of the money, which Yugoslav society gave to assist those who suffered in the Kopaonik earthquake, found its way into the pockets of those whose property had not suffered the slightest harm from the earthquake, because of the involvement of influential people in the opstina assembly. Today, people laugh bitterly and ask how private cafe owner Milan Milosavljevic from Kastrat received loan credit intended solely for repairing damages caused by the earthquake, even though it is well known that his house had simply burned down from other causes. How? Simply, on the basis of an invented record.

But let us begin at the beginning. We would remind the reader that the Kursumlija opstina was hit by an earthquake on 18 May of last year. The villages below Kopaonik mountain in general were damaged, for the epicenter was somewhere in the opstina of Brus. The Serbian executive council gave Kursumlija opstina 5 billion old dinars from the "solidarity fund," and those 5 billion went properly to those who had suffered the most damage. And then responsible officials of the opstina assembly, probably operating on the principle that when someone is giving, you should take as much as possible, requested that the Serbian executive council give another 5 billion dinars. They got that money too, and at that point there was enough money to develop a system of manipulation.

Personal Commissions

After the earthquake, the city of Nis tried to help Kursumlija opstina by sending a specialized, experienced team to assess damages. Those people did their task honestly (with the healthy prerequisite that because of their specialized skills and their neutrality, they could be expected to do so), and they transmitted their findings to the Kursumlija opstina assembly. How did responsible officials at the Kursumlija opstina assembly react to this brotherly aid from Nis? They simply thanked them for the cooperation as a preliminary, and rejected the findings of the Nis commission and relied (with foresight) on themselves and their own ability.

They formed at least ten local commissions that were headed by some sort of construction engineer for each one, largely technical people, and to these were added at least someone to keep the records. Thus equipped, they set out to assess the damages suffered at Kursumlija. Malicious tongues assert that many of the assessments were made at cafes or in offices.

The Nis commission established that at most three houses in the city itself were severely damaged by the earthquake; the local commissions multiplied this number into more than 3 hundred!

This fact says enough about the reason why the opstina functionaries of Kursumlija did not accept the work of the specialists from Nis.

Some other numbers will help the reader to understand everything that happened in Kursumlija. In the opstina 1931 loans were made, with the city and immediate surrounding area receiving 1040 loans and the city of Kursumlija itself, 371. Investigative judge Ljubinko Popovic, who later carried out the overall investigation aimed at establishing criminal responsibility said quickly in passing (since he was leaving for new duties in Nis) that the basic fact was that some part of the money went where it was intended, while a good part of it was distributed in Kursumlija itself, where not a single window was broken.

There is reliable evidence to show that 891 houses in Kursumlija opstina were damaged. Simple mathematics can show that more than half the loans were given without any justification at all. We would say that it is a matter of 5 billion old dinars, of which according to official data, the city of Kursumlija got 1.6 billion.

The readers will certainly be interested to know who resisted this dishonesty. The war veterans. The opstina Federation of Veterans' Organizations of the National Liberation War reacted to the entire presidium, and sent petitions to republic sociopolitical organizations.

We asked Miodrag Ilic, president of the Kursumlija LCY opstina conference, why the League of Communists did not react in a timely manner. The answer: "This happened during party elections."

When those who were caught in the affair began to retreat, as in some action film, some unseen hands disposed of both the records of the Nis commission and certain other suspicious records of the local damage-assessment commissions. The opstina investigative judge says that he did his part of the job, but since large amounts of money were involved, everything was turned over to the district public prosecutor in Prokuplje, as required by law. It remains to be seen, what form a complaint will take and whether it will eventually come to a trial in court. We cannot make all the facts public because it is still early, and the findings of the continuing investigation remain confidential. Legal proceedings have, however, been initiated to determine political responsibility, and those most responsible have been punished. Those punishments are another story in themselves.

The Serbia LCY opstina committee and the presidium of the veterans' organization opstina council in Kursumlija held a joint session on 19 June 1981 to consider the report of the opstina assembly commission, the executive council commission, and

the investigative judge of the Kursumlija opstina court on irregularities in the procedures for assessing damages and making loans to restore damages of the earthquake. The conclusions are clear: The commissions involved in assessing damages were unqualified, there were no damages from the earthquake in Kursumlija and the villages outside of the directly threatened region, and the loans intended to repair destroyed and damaged houses were distributed without any proper criteria. There were many irregularities and abuses throughout the process.

It was also proposed that the Kursumlija opstina assembly, as the responsible agency, should pass a resolution calling for the return of the loans that have been made.

About Punishments

The opstina assembly has accepted that proposal. Even the delegates who received loans "through connections" voted for it, and the date for repayment was set at 1 October. Yet nobody has yet returned a loan. The date was recently extended to 1 November. It remains to be seen as to whether a massive rush to return those loans will take place.

[Inset No 1, p 20] "What in fact is expected by the request of the basic LCY organization of the administrative agency of the Kursumlija opstina assembly, asking that the LCY committee deliver the stenographic record of its session to that organization." This question was asked by Dr Zivota Zivkovic, secretary of the presidium of the Nis LCY local organization committee, in a discussion at a committee session. "It wishes to see what particular individuals had to say in the discussion and then to attach the overall set of problems to particular persons and interpersonal relationships. Such attempts to divide up the committee have already been made. For this reason, the basic LCY organization is not turning over its records, so that the committee cannot see what healthy forces it can rely on and what other forces are hindering action. Such attempts at collusion must be disarmed."

[Reported in NISKE NOVINE (Nis News)]

[Main text] Punishments have also been suggested for those most responsible. It is proposed that a final warning before expulsion be addressed to the assembly president, Dragisa Ilic (reliable evidence shows that his four brothers and his father all got loans, although supposedly the president himself did not). A similar disciplinary measure would be aimed at several other responsible officials of the opstina assembly. But the suggestion of the opstina committee was only a suggestion. The basic LCY organization of the Kursumlija opstina assembly had a different opinion: according to their party comrades, for all they had done the leaders deserved only--a comradely reprimand! The opstina committee came back onto the scene, and, utilizing the rights of democratic centralism, carried out the discipline it had suggested. It was asserted that the opstina president could not remain in his function, and supposedly, a delegate motion for his removal was initiated.

[Inset No 2, p 20] How the Assessors Were "Punished"

The people who worked in the commissions for determining damages (and the text indicates how they performed their task) also were given party disciplinary punishments. They received--comradely criticism. It would be funny, if it were not so pitiful.

[Main text] We asked Miodrag Ilic, president of the LCY opstina conference, about the penalties. Did he feel that such people could remain in the party? The man said that his opinion is nothing more than one man's voice, but that the decision on punishment was not approved unanimously, but on a 6 votes for and 4 votes against tally. He admitted that there are people who regard these penalties as Draconian measures!

And so that is what happened at Kursumlija, even though a final period has not been placed on the affair. What do the people who were directly involved in this dishonest work of taking advantage of human misfortune have to say about all this? We could not reach them for comment. Some were not at their jobs, others were not in Kursumlija. We had neither the time nor the strength to chase them down. If they have anything to say, certainly any newspaper would give them space to say it.

We did, however, learn that Modzo Milosavljevic, of Kosanicka Raca, had come to the opstina assembly office "regarding housing." His house had been determined to be dangerous for habitation and this man asked "the state" to let him use the tent for a while longer (the date for returning it had already passed). He would try to find some accommodation with his brother or other relatives. Midzo Milosavljevic of Raca had not received a loan.

12131

CSO: 2800/140

END

**END OF
FICHE**

DATE FILMED

JANUARY 18, 1982